Investigate "America First" by John L. Spivak

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY NOVEMBER 4, 1941

HOW TO BEAT HITLER

America's Production Offensive
by JOSEPH NORTH

Women in Britain's War Industry
by CLAUDE COCKBURN

National Unity Advances
by BRUCE MINTON

WHAT THE SOVIETS FORESAW

by JOSEPH STAROBIN

SIZING UP O'DWYER

by BARBARA GILES

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DEAR FRIENDS:

The blunt truth is this: New Masses' drive for funds reached only 50% of its quota. Our need was $7,600; only $3,550 has come in. The life of the magazine continues in danger.

Due to the generosity of three of our friends, we are guaranteed the wherewithal for the next two issues. But the specter of financial suppression is there.

Frankly, we cannot continue to use valuable space in the magazine for this drive. We need every line to discuss the crucial events of the day. But our drive for funds will have to go on. Even though you will not see our appeal in print in the next issue, you will realize that it continues. It must, until the threat to the magazine is over.

One warning word: New Masses exists only through your devotion. You made it possible for us to get the Spivak series; you made it possible for us to get the weekly cable from Claude Cockburn; the cables from Sholokhov, Shostakovich, from Ehrenbourg.

Can you afford to surrender the gifts of these sterling writers? Yet we will be forced to, simply in order to keep the magazine alive on a minimum basis. Forced to, unless you decide otherwise.

Yes, you are busy on many fronts. You give to many causes. But is it not true that New Masses is your liaison with these fronts: that it is an organizer, a fighter on these fronts? Would the counter-offensive on these battle lines be as powerful if New Masses went out of existence? These are questions you must decide.

We can only await your decision.

The Editors.

NEW MASSES, 461 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C.

Here is my contribution to keep NEW MASSES alive. $ _____

Name and Address: _____

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INVESTIGATE "AMERICA FIRST"

A Letter from John L. Spivak

TO THE Readers of NEW MASSES: In the past, whenever I wrote an article I tried to confine myself to an objective presentation of the facts I collected. I wrote on the theory that facts speak for themselves and that the reader is intelligent enough to draw his own conclusions. Frequently I got letters from readers who asked: "What shall we do about these things you show are going on?" and invariably I turned the letters over to the editors. Editorializing was their job. I had all I could do to gather the material and write the stories.

But things were different in the past. The world was not shaking under our feet from the concussions of 1000-pound bombs ripping homes and people to bits. There was no concentrated effort by madmen to destroy everything we cherish and to torture and maim and kill those who oppose them.

You, even more than readers of other magazines, have known for some years that such madmen are among us in this country. First they were sent as paid agents. Soon they were working with the fringe of fascist native Americans who emerged during the depression years. While they worked, altogether too many of us smiled at what we thought were their antics and went on about our business of earning a living, spending peaceful evenings with our families and friends. We took for granted life as we had known it because there were no immediate threats either to our security or to our lives. We felt that if worse came to worst, the fascist fringe could be handled by a platoon of police.

During the past couple of years you and a great many other Americans have suddenly realized that the fascist fringe had done spade work directed by powerful, influential, and ruthless men who remained in the background. Pro-Nazi activities grew, but still there was no unified leadership for these scattered groups. Many felt that a disorganized army is no threat.

Since the advent of the America First Committee, all that has changed. There is leadership now; competent leadership. There is great wealth now and untold millions of dollars flowing from hidden sources. On the stage now are actors who know their parts and await their cues.

Within the past few weeks I wrote three stories in NEW MASSES about this mysteriously operating and lavishly financed committee. Those articles only scratched the surface of what is going on. More must be done than merely publish the few facts I can gather. I can't do the full job, even if I had many assistants and far more money than NEW MASSES can raise. It is a job that must be done by the government of the United States. The facts I was able to learn open vistas which are frightening. That is why I am writing this open letter to you.

I ask you to listen to me as one sitting beside you in your home, your factory, your office. With all the solemnity I have, I say to you that there are plots in this country which will split us into innumerable hating and fighting groups if they are not uncovered and stopped immediately. We are in exactly the same position as France when secret Nazi and fascist agents, masquerading as patriotic Frenchmen, penetrated to the highest financial and political circles governing that country and made it an easy prey of the savage hordes under the swastika.

These plots involve not merely splitting the country on religious and racial lines, but also on the labor field so that defense production will be hampered. Never in the history of this country have such intensive efforts been made to turn citizen against citizen with the ultimate purpose of destroying a united effort to send the hateful Nazi back to that dark hell which spewed him upon the world.

The men behind this conspiracy are ruthless. They will stop at nothing to achieve their ends. There is no time to wait. The full exposure of this conspiracy is not a job for a journalist. It is a job for the people of the United States who must insist that their representatives and senators do it. And it's a job that must be done now.

The prosecuting authorities can do something, but a much broader type of action is needed. The machinations of America First and those behind it must be exposed on a nationwide scale so that the people of this country may know what is going on and adopt counter-measures. A congressional committee with its powers of subpena, with its powers to compel testimony under oath, with the men it can muster and the money it can command, can do the job.

The first and foremost step is the immediate investigation of the America First Committee. There is more behind this committee than the question of who is financing it. There is more behind Lindbergh than the mystery of a man rewarded by Hitler with a medal.

To every one of you, I repeat: the situation confronting this country is extremely grave. Write or telegraph your representative and senator immediately, demanding that the America First Committee be investigated. *Now.* Now before its work has split the country still further.

Get your friends and relatives to write and telegraph. Things are moving too fast for you to wait. That's what so many did in Europe and that's why so many countless thousands of Europeans are imprisoned, starving, beaten, shot.

To every one of you in the trade union movement: I urge you to go to your local and to your national body. Bring the America First Committee up on the floor as urgent business. Demand that the Congress of the United States investigate it now. *Now.* Not tomorrow.

A member of the President's Cabinet, Secretary of the Interior Ickes, has already urged that this committee be investigated. In a recent speech he said:

"Nazis, Coughlinites, and anti-Semites have taken over the organization, lock, stock, and barrel. Today America First is a tight little Nazi organization that follows the party line as laid down in Berlin. Some people of good intentions, but of little understanding have been kept out in front as window dressing. They are merely decoys.

"Some of our isolationists and some of those who are opposed to giving aid to Russia believe that Senate investigations contribute to the enlightenment of the country, even if they embarrass our defense activities. So I suggest a resolution in the Senate or the House of Representatives calling for an investigation of the America First Committee. . . . The American people are entitled to know who this America First Committee is and what are its ramifications."

This demand, made by a trusted adviser of the President of the United States, must be supported by the powerful voice of organized labor, by the entire American people. You can do it by a barrage of telegrams and letters such as Congress has never seen before.

To wait is dangerous. The mysterious forces seeking to undermine this country are working ceaselessly, day and night. *To delay may mean that we can rescue those things we cherish only by the bloodiest rivers of sweat and tears.*

JOHN L. SPIVAK.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PRODUCTION OFFENSIVE

How American labor works for maximum output of war materials in minimum time. Joseph North surveys the status of the battle in our factories. Facts and figures.

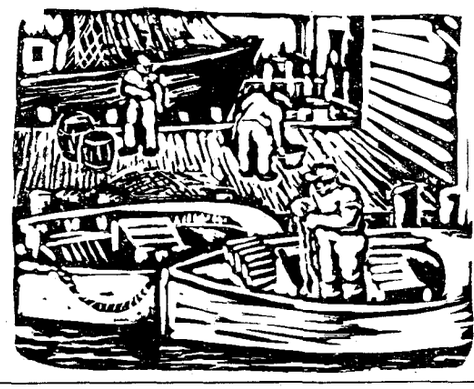
THE days have gone forever when the life of the organized American workingman was bounded by the four grimy walls of his shop; today, carrying his CIO or AFL card, one of 10,000,000 strong, he has come to think in terms of billions of dollars, millions of tons, tens of thousands of airplanes and tanks. The horizons of Bill Jones of Canonsburg, Pa., encompass the continents of the world: his life is menaced by an enemy who seeks to conquer the globe. "There is a crisis in the land," Albert J. Fitzgerald, president-elect of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, said last week. "If we fail to defeat Hitler, then all our concern and discussion about wages, hours, business, profits, taxes, prices, and all those things—all will be meaningless." A man named Hitler and his international gangsters "will make the rules, break the rules, and issue the decrees." Though Mr. Fitzgerald spoke only for the 300,000 workingmen in his union, his words typified the resolution, the sense of innumerable meetings all over America today. Isolationism, to Bill Jones at his lathe, is as dead as Jehoshaphat.

Spokesmen for labor are alarmed: they abhor the too leisurely pace of American defense production. Gains have been made, true, but look at Hitler's blitzkrieg schedule. There is as yet no torrent of arms which the President has called for. Labor spokesmen are asking: why? Does the reason lie in the fact that more than seventy-five percent of all defense work went to fifty-six great corporations? Has there been inadequate planning? What is wrong about the defense production setup? What can we do to help remedy matters? These questions are being asked in the shops of a thousand industrial localities. They reflect something big that is happening, something of great meaning to the entire American people; American labor seeks *full* share of the responsibility in planning this country's effort to beat Hitler. It strives for the full mobilization of all national resources to arrive at maximum output in minimum time. Or else that torrent of arms will be fatally slow in coming. "We warned time and again," Philip Murray, CIO president, said last week, "that the failure to organize in such a way that full production could be established and that supplies of critical materials could be expanded, would result in idle plants and increased unemployment."

THE UE PRESIDENT-ELECT, Mr. Fitzgerald, spoke significantly along the same lines. "Victory," he said, "depends to a decisive extent on the production of defense material which we in the United States are able to achieve. These defense materials, once we of the shops have turned them out, must be placed speedily and in large quantities in the hands of the men and women who are doing the fighting."

For "we of the shops" know that the United States has "made itself responsible" for the production of $62,000,000,000 worth of defense materials within three years. But three years these times are as epochs in former days. And "we of the shops" know that so far, through the past fourteen months, only half that amount has been spent, and, as Mr. Fitzgerald pointed out, "only about $5,000,000,000 represents actual armaments produced." Leon Henderson said the other day that the nation's war effort in 1917-18 reached twenty-five percent of the country's national income within fourteen months. The total today is only twelve to fourteen percent. The reality is that America is giving *one* hour out of eight for military production today, whereas Hitler is using *five* out of eight. Mr. Henderson told of OPM production schedules that outline abrupt jumps in October, November, and December. "By January," he said, "we ought to be up to one and a half hours out of every eight and by June at least up to two out of eight for defense." But even if twenty-five percent of production for defense is achieved by June, 1942, that is scarcely enough. "We plan to use thirty-five percent, fifty percent, or even sixty percent."

BILL JONES appreciates the government blueprint of production to lick Hitler: he knows that output for war has increased. It is on its way. But he knows that it moves too damn slow, considering the speed of the panzer divisions. He experiences personally the difficulties, the hardships, that are involved in meeting "production schedules." His daily life from morning to evening whistle brings him into contact with traditional wastage, inefficiencies, with "business-as-usual" attitudes, with monopolistic practices that bar full speed. He knows there are ways of doing things better; for years management has encouraged him to slip into the box his ideas for improving efficiency. As a workingman he knows, too, that the change-over from a civilian consumption economy to a war economy is dislocating normal industrial routine. It has brought him the menace of priorities unemployment. Though he is ready to share all necessary hardships victory requires, he feels that the threat of priorities unemployment is largely unnecessary; that proper planning could have obviated it. And still can. Though the government has taken measures to coordinate and speed up the defense output—SPAB, the Special Contracts Distribution Division, and a broadened outlook on the part of the Army and Navy heads are indicative—yet time remains the vital factor. "Too late" is still the bugaboo before all anti-Hitler men. And labor has specific ideas on the best methods to overcome that bugaboo. It wants to tell how.



FOR MONTHS labor spokesmen have been clamoring to improve the efficiency of America's tremendous industrial machine. There is the Murray plan of industrial councils which would work in the direction of *complete* mobilization of the *entire* national apparatus for defense—a basic proposal which would help obviate most of the difficulties confronting the country today. There is the Zonarich plan for improvement in aluminum output, one of the principal bottlenecks to date; the United Automobile Workers mapped a program to get tanks and airplanes off the belt instead of pleasure cars; the Steel Workers Organizing Committee suggested the means of stepping up production. The Seattle convention of the AFL went on record for an all-out effort. To date, insufficient use has been made of these excellent rock-bottom proposals.

These criticisms are not destructive: all embody proposals for improvement. Consider some of the suggestions. A few days ago at the conference of CIO Unions on Priorities Unemployment, George T. Addes, secretary-treasurer of the UAW, reported that a shortage of tools and dies constituted a major bottleneck. Yet a survey his union made of thirty-four tool and die plants in the automotive industry showed that only thirty-five percent of them were working at capacity. Addes warned that priority orders which curtail basic material to civilian industries might throw two to four million men out of work within the next few months. He showed how this threat would be overcome by speeding defense production which, in turn, requires the adaptation to war production of machinery now making civilian goods. New

Published weekly by WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC., at 461 Fourth Ave., New York City. Copyright 1941. WEEKLY MASSES CO., INC. Reg. U. S. Patent Office. Drawings and text may not be reprinted without permission. Entered as second-class matter, June 24, 1926, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Single copies 15 cents. Subscriptions $5.00 a year in U. S. and Colonies and Mexico. Six months $2.75; three months $1.50; Foreign $6.00 a year; six months $3.25; three months $1.75. In Canada $5.50 a year, $3.00 for six months. VOL. XLI NO. 5

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tools, new dies, are necessary. These items are also crucial to equip the new armament factories now under construction.

Addes, however, indicated that defense planning is so far behind that the country suffers a great lag in full mobilization of its tool and die capacity. He found 1,577 machines capable of turning out a wide range of tools and dies in the thirty-four plants in question. He ascertained, however, that 337 of these machines were not being used at all. Others were only used part time for automobile tooling work and "a scattering of defense production." Additional vital facts unearthed were these: of forty larger machines used in retooling Keller machines—eighteen stood idle. A third of the forty-nine planers and a fifth of the radial drills were also unused. The survey estimated that the total machine hours a week the machines in the thirty-four plants could be used was 252,320. Actually, the machine hours a week totaled only 87,296.

FURTHERMORE: As far back as last May Clinton S. Golden, northeastern regional director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, sent a letter to Vice President Robert L. Earle of the Curtiss-Wright Corp., criticizing management errors in the aircraft industry. Mr. Golden informed the Curtiss-Wright executive that twenty-five per cent of the propellers produced at the company's two plants in the Pittsburgh region were being scrapped because of the "inefficiencies and mismanagement that the union can assist in correcting." The loss amounted to 400 to 500 propellers monthly. Curtiss-Wright holds $309,628,000 in United States defense contracts and its subsidiary, Wright Aeronautical Corp., has an additional $153,780,000. The SWOC executive pointed out that an alarming percentage of this is being wasted at the Neville Island and Gerard plants near Pittsburgh. Mr. Golden was more than specific in his charges. Let me cite several examples.

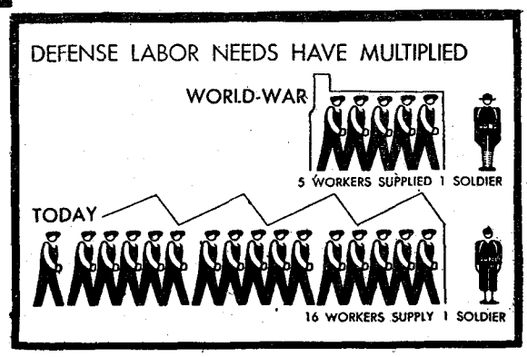
1: "Output in the welding department is being held down at least thirty-three percent, and probably more, by poor quality welding rod. SWOC has had a piece of this bad rod, which costs around $400 a ton, analyzed and it can be corrected. . . . Sixty welders have signed a petition complaining that 'We are continually forced to use bad rod in the welding of propeller blades.' "

2: Mr. Golden also cited the instance of heat-treating. The union has canvassed the district and found unused heat-treating facilities that could be used to eliminate a bottleneck. The available heat-treating plant was used by a company that occupied the Neville Island plant before Curtiss-Wright moved in.

The letter noted that in January 1941, the workers lifted production sixty-six percent over the previous month, but production had gradually begun to slip back because of mismanagement practices.

Another example: as long ago as July 17 labor offered to show the government how production of aluminum could be stepped

16 MEN IN OVERALLS BEHIND EVERY MAN IN UNIFORM



Pictorial Corporation. From *Survey Graphic.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

up to 3,000,000,000 pounds a year. The monopoly practices of Alcoa are big hurdles to leap in achieving the vitally important maximum output of this metal. The International Union of Aluminum Workers, after a four months' survey of the industry, proposed an adaptation of the general plan for industrial councils urged by CIO's President Murray. At that time they proposed that full priorities on materials necessary for construction of aluminum plants be granted, that domestic bauxite mining operations should be stepped up, non-defense and luxury uses of power should be rationed, and inter-connecting power-generating station and steam-generating facilities be developed. The plan urged the training of a labor force to operate the projected plants and that industrial harmony be assured through perfection and extension of sound collective bargaining relationships.

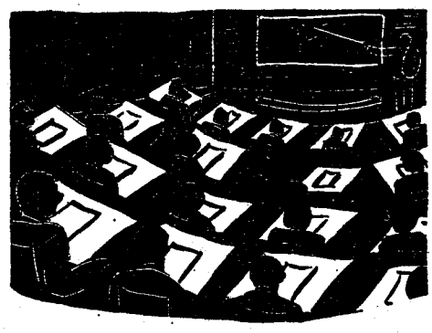
THESE ARE TYPICAL, these proposals. There are millions of Bill Joneses who carry around under their caps ideas for improving the production in their own shops. The plans cited have been offered, and labor has waited, perhaps too patiently, for their adoption, for action. Time works for the enemy. Hitler's mechanized men are hammering at the gates of Moscow and menacing the Donets basin. The American workingman has kept pace with the President's fears that the fate of the country is bound up with the destiny of the USSR, of Great Britain. Hence the desire for speed.

To quote UE's president-elect, labor has been urging a partnership "to protect the security of the United States by defeating Hitler — a partnership where each partner makes his contribution toward that one objective." The electrical workers' union has already taken specific measures to show what kind of partnership this should be. They pointed out that they do not seek to take over the functions of management or of government. They wish, however, to have an equal share in the planning of production. Consider the scene in Chicago last month when 1,500 delegates convened as a result of the UE's Emergency Program Against Lay-Offs. Here, in microcosm was the picture of the national front against Hitler. Both AFL and CIO unions as well as UE were represented. Management was on hand, so were the mayors or representatives from more than 500 communities in eleven midwestern states. This was a beginning. It laid the basis for action. In Newark, N. J., employers, mayors, UE delegates met at the city hall some three weeks back. The result: a functioning Northern New Jersey Defense Committee. Engineers sent by the government are working with the group. Similar actions took place in Brooklyn where a functioning "partnership" operates. Similar results can be recorded in other UE areas; St. Louis, Mansfield, and Dayton, O., Evansville, Ind., and many other cities.

Labor has welcomed the fact that President Roosevelt recently set up a special Defense Contracts Distribution Division under Floyd B. Odlum, the purpose of which is to achieve a wider distribution of defense work, particularly in the smaller plants, through sub-contracting. Odlum himself has registered the necessity of harnessing a substantial, still untapped part of the nation's capacity to produce arms. Consider a moment the extent of the unused part of the nation's machine: something over four percent of the plants in the country operate with less than 250 men. Over sixty percent are manned by less than 500. These relatively small plants, however, contain nearly one-half of the country's standard type machine tools, the type that could be turned to all around metal work, such as stamping, planing, drilling, lathe and screw work. These shops have skilled mechanics along with vital machines. Yet the overwhelming majority of these factories have been out in the cold so far as defense contracts are concerned. The recent joint labor-management-government conferences and "defense clinics" have begun to tackle this crucial question.

One of the practical results of these conferences is afforded by the example of the washing machine industries. The UE had organized a number of firms which normally produce these machines. The production of the machines was recently curtailed as a product non-essential to national defense. Many workingmen were threatened with unemployment. The UE got on the job. A total of thirty-four washing machine firms, including some which were not "UE" companies, organized in such a manner that four of their number are taking primary defense contracts from the government, and meantime agreements have been reached whereby the primary contractors are obligated to subcontract and spread the work to the other thirty companies. Today the workers in these plants are turning out .50 calibre anti-aircraft gun mounts, $12,000,000 worth. As the OPM bulletin puts it: "The case involved the first industry-wide certification under procurement policies worked out recently by the OPM and the armed services to increase defense production and prevent dislocations, wherever practicable, by spreading armament orders into plants whose non-defense production must be curtailed." It indicated that the industry was capable of producing seventeen different defense items, ranging from the anti-aircraft machine gun mounts to bomb fin assemblies.

This was achieved by the acumen and anti-Hitler will of some forward-looking government officials, through the cooperation of the management, and through the initiative of UE. Therefore, today, these plants which faced a shutdown several weeks ago are today producing machine gun mounts and other defense materials. What was achieved on a small scale in this industry, labor spokesmen feel, can be reproduced on a large scale nationally, in all industries.



Again to quote the UE head: "These steps we have taken and these methods we have worked out are not confined to the UE. It is the same in all the basic industries of the nation. The same thinking is going on in every segment of the labor movement—the unions in every industry are trying to apply this partnership idea to their problems."

This is farsighted, plain American thinking. "I have just said," Mr. Fitzgerald continued, "that the UE does not intend to exploit the national emergency for short-time, narrow gains."

This attitude is typical of the overwhelming majority of labor that sees the crisis in its reality. There may be exceptions. But labor as a whole does not intend to make its full-hearted support of the program to defeat Hitler conditional upon anything except the totality of American national interest. It does intend to safeguard all its prerogatives, all its rights to organize and to bargain collectively; that goes without saying. It will never abrogate its right to strike, a right which it believes the government should safeguard by guaranteeing the enforcement of labor and social legislation, a right which labor affirms shall not be used against the interests of national defense and maximum production.

This is evidenced by the AFL appeal that industrial disputes be ironed out by the Defense Mediation Board and other such agencies. Harry Bridges made a similar statement before the California CIO. Both the AFL convention and CIO leaders favored workers' staying on the job while mediation and negotiation proceed.

Labor, too, is veering away from the ancient conflicts over jurisdictional rights. The CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union has entered into an agreement with the AFL Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in Brooklyn, pledging to end raids on each other's memberships.

These are but a few instances of labor's approach to the question of stepping up war production. For first on its agenda is the battle to retain America's sovereignty as a nation. Mr. Fitzgerald put it well when he said: "All concern and discussion about wages, hours, business, profits, taxes, prices . . . will be meaningless unless Hitler is defeated." The Bill Joneses of America are committed to that premise. They are ready to make all sacrifices necessary to gain the military destruction of the Nazi beast—to produce arms and to use them for victory. They are shaping their lives accordingly and expect all other categories of the country to do likewise. Anything else is a betrayal of our patriotism, of our birthright.

JOSEPH NORTH.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALONG THE ROAD TO UNITY

A progress report on the building of the national front. Shifts within the Republican Party. Bruce Minton discusses what is happening among other political groupings.

FOR all the difficulties—and they are by no means ended, by no means less formidable even today—the various groupings in American life are showing signs of a growing coalescence. During the past four months the trend has been toward attaining the internal singleness of purpose which is the prerequisite for a successful struggle against Hitlerism. The unions have shown their eagerness to participate in the broadest national front; and the last weeks have found other sections of the population taking their places, among them that part of the Republican Party which follows the leadership of Wendell Willkie.

The unions particularly have been successful in gathering their forces. Elsewhere, Joseph North discusses the methods used by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union to strengthen the battle for production. Though perhaps the UE has for the moment made the greatest progress in this respect, other unions are quick to learn from their pioneering. The huge Ford local of 90,000 members in Dearborn, Mich., has called for a production conference including city officials, plant executives, and representatives of both the local and international union. The CIO has drawn up the Murray Plan. The AFL at its convention pledged all effort in the race to turn out more and more of the sinews of war. Organized labor has sought to cut down strikes in defense industries, even to ignore provocation on the part of certain suspiciously high-handed employers. Beginnings have been made to outlaw stoppages arising out of jurisdictional disputes: the AFL and CIO electrical unions in Brooklyn, whose fight in the past has been bitter, have agreed not to raid each other's membership. Increasingly, representatives of the two great labor bodies meet together, and their spokesmen appear jointly on public platforms to raise funds for the relief of the British, Soviet, and Chinese peoples. Their cooperation is mounting in mass defense bodies, and in the drive to improve factory efficiency.

POLITICALLY, TOO, labor has shown a new alertness. In Ohio, falsely touted as a "center" of "isolationism," the state CIO has called for a "shooting war." In defiance of John L. Lewis' attacks on administration foreign policy, the Ohio convention of the United Mine Workers cheered President John Owen when he urged this country to continue "fighting, fighting—even with our very lives against Hitler if necessary." The maritime unions, the American Communications Association, the smelter workers in New Jersey, the Washington, D. C., CIO council, hundreds of other locals in every part of the

country have gone on record in support of ever stronger and speedier resistance to the Nazi war machine.

As the unions prepare themselves for greater effort, other sections of the population also show a new awareness of the emergency. One thousand Protestant leaders—editors, college presidents, bishops and other members of the clergy—have endorsed all-out aid to the USSR, declaring that the time has come for "freedom to attack." Farmers increasingly indicate agreement that America's defense needs and the requirements of the Allies must determine production, the amounts and types of crops. Dr. Francis Townsend, spokesman for some sections of the older people among the smaller middle classes, with the largest percentage of his followers in the Midwest, has expressed his hope for the formation of an American Expeditionary Force to help open a western front. And the country as a whole, according to the most recent Gallup poll, approves President Roosevelt's foreign policy by a vote of seventy-six percent.

The people rally with new determination to the task of ending Hitlerism. In one sense, some measure of this upsurge that is leading toward the broadest unity of purpose on a nationwide scale can be seen in the recent actions of the Republican Party. It is significant that the leaders of this powerful minority in Congress have finally broken their silence. Three Republican senators—Bridges of New Hampshire, Austin of Vermont, and Gurney of South Dakota—have introduced a Senate motion for the complete repeal of the Neutrality Act. Simultaneously, Wendell Willkie aggressively calls for support of the main tenets of administration foreign policy. One hundred prominent Republicans from forty states echo the three senators' condemnation of legislation hampering the struggle against Hitlerism. Patrick Hurley, former Secretary of War under Hoover, adds his name. Obviously, these men would not have committed themselves so positively unless they had felt sure of popular approval. Thereby, their actions are an indication of the growing agreement throughout the country that above all this nation must act decisively, that the course is clear in the minds of the majority.

To the extent that the Republicans have joined the main fight, they have taken their place within the national front, strengthening it and accelerating further progress. Their presence is both necessary and welcome. It is too easy to forget that the Republican Party, for all its reversals since 1932, received over 22,000,000 votes, in excess of forty-five percent of the electorate, just a year ago. There can be no national unity without participation of the Republican rank and file. In the Gallup poll mentioned above, fifty-six percent of those voting Republican in 1940 now support the administration's "shoot on sight" order—and eight percent of the remainder are "undecided."

It would be oversimple to see no more in the party's recent trend than an eagerness to respond to popular sentiment in and for itself. Clearly, those high in Republican counsels realize that unless they reflect to a degree at least the will of the majority of people, their outlook for the 1942 election seems poor indeed. The Republicans observe that the temper of America is rising against the crimes of the Nazis, that this country is driving rapidly into the war that alone can release the nation's full energy. In consequence, the Republican Party must either show some initiative in expressing popular sentiment or surrender any hope of electoral success for the next years.

Still this does not round out all the reasons for Willkie's stand or for the support he is getting. The Republican Party has been recognized as the spokesman of the greatest financial institutions and the largest corporations. And now the boldness of certain party leaders would certainly indicate that the decisive section of the largest owners are aware that Hitlerism menaces their interests. Thus again, the broadest national front begins to be in evidence—the front that includes the very top of the financial and industrial world as well as the bulk of the people.

IN ALL HONESTY, it is too soon to judge these occurrences as more than a beginning. The Republican Party is by no means monolithic: Alfred Landon, who failed so miserably in his campaign five years ago, sings a different song; Mr. Hoover, whose disastrous years as President are still vivid in the public mind, violently resists the position taken by Wendell Willkie and his followers within the party. At this moment the label "Republican" covers two diametrically opposed groups—those leaders, supported by the rank and file majority, who are increasingly becoming part of the main stream of American life; and the few who would make peace with fascism, who flaunt a hypocritical brand of "unity" with appeasement as an end, the "live

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and let live" policy of partnership with Germany and Japan. These few despite their tinseled vocabulary relegate American security to the scrap heap. These native pro-fascists, along with the Wheeler-Lindbergh-Ford cabal of America First, the oppositionists among the Democrats led by Martin Dies and Senator Clark, the few appeasers in the ranks of labor who speak only for themselves—these diehards have draped themselves in a cloak of spurious "liberalism" which Hitler has found so useful. Their goal is the end of democracy and freedom in this country as surely as the same policies doomed France to terror and oppression.

The deepening split between the Hoover-Landon reaction and the Willkie group nevertheless indicates that in the initial battle for ascendancy within the party—and therefore, the struggle for rank and file support—those showing a concern for America's best interests have registered important advances. The direction of the majority of Republican supporters is healthy and constructive. That does not mean, however, that every policy advocated by Willkie or his followers is best designed to strengthen our effectiveness against fascism. There are implications by no means acceptable in Willkie's vague statement that "The desire of many in the administration to rewrite our social and economic life under cover of the national effort must be ruled out during the emergency." The attack on "New Dealers," which punctuates Willkie's article in *Look* magazine, is not likely to sit well with most people. He writes of the New Dealers, ". . . they continue to harass business, small and large . . . they sow distrust between management and labor." To which the *Herald Tribune* adds the illuminating commentary that what Mr. Willkie is after is to "get a stronger position to fight on the domestic front."

THE RESISTANCE to fascism is always a double one: the stronger democratic rights and liberties are at home, the more powerfully the struggle is expressed in action against the enemy outside. To achieve national unity, this must be ever kept in mind. The people, willing to make all necessary sacrifices, cannot be asked to embrace a domestic policy which does not conform to their needs. Mr. Willkie has added his strength, and that of those who follow him, to the common cause. But to raise the question of the general premises of the New Deal at this time has the danger of stirring up unnecessary dissension which will hinder the national unity Mr. Willkie wishes to help achieve.

Thus the participation of a section of Republican leadership in the anti-fascist struggle cannot be taken as committing the country to capitulation to the anti-Roosevelt attack. Moreover, this portion of Mr. Willkie's program hardly seems to promote the end he endorses. Today, as the national front gains momentum, all sections of the population show a willingness in the interests of the common good to forego the luxury of grinding their own axes. That is the meaning of national unity, which for all successes, is still far from won. There is one decisive issue only—the annihilation of Hitlerism. All else is subordinate. And the growth of the national front to speed this vital purpose is testimony that the American people have recognized the enemy and have resolved never to rest until the world has purged itself of the disease that brings torture and death to all.

BRUCE MINTON.

Low in The London Evening Standard

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SIZING UP O'DWYER

Barbara Giles tells why Tammany backs the man who didn't repudiate Franco. O'Dwyer and the company he keeps. That liberal pose.

LAST July 16 five Tammany bosses led William O'Dwyer into the New York mayoralty ring and, with little ado, presented him as their 1941 candidate. There was no cracking of whips, no hoop-jumping stunts. The ringmasters moved discreetly off the scene for a while and the word went around that their protege was something "different" in the way of Tammany tigers.

For two years, as Brooklyn's district attorney, he had been feeding strictly on the raw meat of racketeers and murderers. He was said to have bitten off the hand of every Tammany man who fed him, and would do it again if elected mayor. In fact, clean government forces and even labor itself might well take him for a pet. What did LaGuardia have that William O'Dwyer didn't have, and in better measure?

That was the general idea though the picture was not painted too skillfully—there was some pretty obvious whitewash and a number of omissions. But Hearst liked it; indeed, the great art collector had helped create it. Father Coughlin's Christian Front admired it. The *Weckruf und Beobachter,* official organ of the Nazi Bund in New York, applauded. And America Firsters, after one glance, winked at each other and grinned. They did not need to be told what most important single thing had been left out of this masterpiece, or how to fill in the omission themselves. Even while the word was first going around that a tiger *could* change his stripes, look how O'Dwyer did it, there were rumors that the appeaser-isolationists had recognized him as their candidate. Mayor LaGuardia, on the other hand, is Roosevelt's director of civilian defense and has declared himself for every administration measure against Hitler. That was the chief thing LaGuardia had which Bill O'Dwyer hadn't, and most New Yorkers, like most Americans everywhere, regard it as the filling in the pie. What O'Dwyer had done about murderers in Brooklyn was one thing. The infinitely larger question right now was, what did he intend to do about Murder, Inc., as directed from Berlin? Fundamentally that is the one big issue to be decided at the polls November 4, in the election to one of the most important posts in the nation.

MR. O'DWYER hasn't had a very happy time since that issue came up. When he declares that he, too, is against Hitler—broadly speaking, in a general way—an infamous anti-Semite like Joe McWilliams is heard telling the boys, overloudly, not to worry, that he "understands." The many people who feel that merely being against Hitler is like disapproving of the man-eating shark, insist on knowing how the candidate stands on specific steps, for example repeal of the Neutrality Act. Mr. O'Dwyer doesn't say. In some of his numerous campaign speeches he will skip the troublesome business of "foreign policy" altogether. He has been known to stand before an audience and say something like this: "Now I don't want to take up much of your time, you all know how I stand on the issues of the campaign, everything is in my radio speeches. I just wanted to come and let you get a good look at me." At this point he flings out his hands in a gesture of candor and smiles widely—the big, honest, simple Irishman, the great democrat. Sometimes his voice vibrates as he tells how he feels for the persecuted Jews; but that is mostly when he addresses Jewish audiences and no one present has heard the speakers preceding O'Dwyer at Tammany rallies refer to their man as a "fine *Christian* gentleman." It isn't so safe any longer for him to use the line beginning "Eight years ago when Hitler came into power," and ending with O'Dwyer the first man to recognize the Nazi menace. Too many in the audience will have read Civil Service Commissioner Kern's charges—proved by the record—that O'Dwyer, on April 1, 1939, verbally embraced Hitler's man Franco at a meeting of the Holy Name Society of St. Anselm's Church, in Brooklyn.

It is hard for the district attorney to discuss not only foreign policy but any other issue. People have such inquisitive minds—and such punishing memories. They remember Tammany rule—who could forget it?—the fat tigers in the jungle of bribery, boodle, and bossism. O'Dwyer has insisted that he owes nothing to Tammany and, indeed, is not its candidate, but voters didn't believe the statement even before he made it in Tammany Hall itself while the five Tammany chieftains who had picked him looked on and smiled with paternal understanding. There isn't a charge that the candidate can make against his opponent which doesn't bring up recollections of something worse in the days of Walker and Hylan. Even when O'Dwyer points to his own relatively liberal, crusading record as district attorney, other people point too, and they ask questions: What about those nine holdovers from the Geoghan regime in the district attorney's office? What about his twenty-nine assistants picked by the Kelly machine? The cleanup of Murder, Inc., O'Dwyer's proudest talking point, was not, it now turns out, as complete as lots of people were led to believe. It never touched the politicos who protected the criminals, and the rackets, the gangsterism, and kickbacks still flourish on the Brooklyn waterfront. He hasn't apprehended the murderers of Pete Panto, rank-and-file longshoreman leader, though he claims to know who they are.

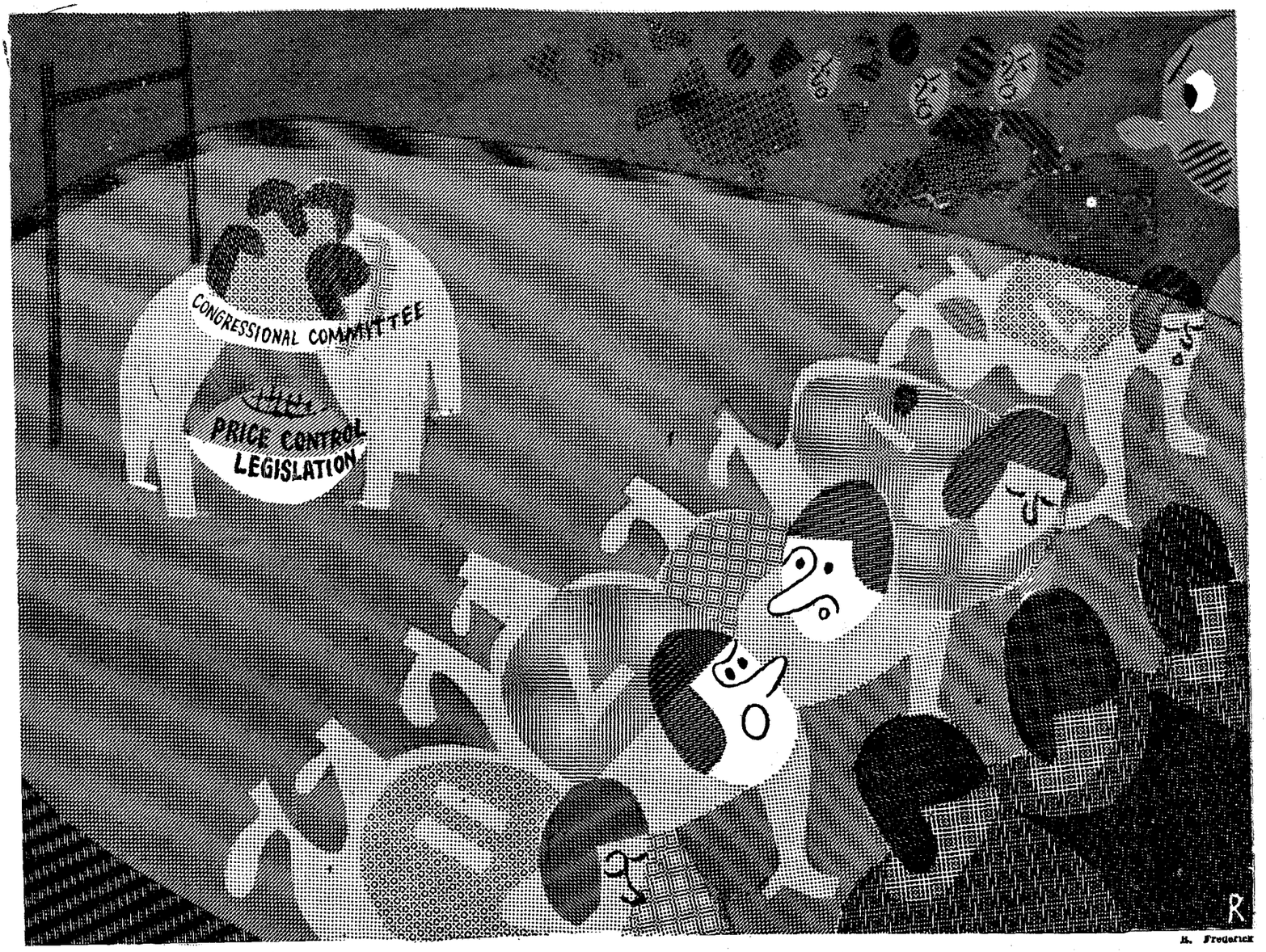
A candidate who can't really talk about issues still has to talk about something, and O'Dwyer has two favorite subjects. One is himself and the other is "The Reds." The first subject is relatively trivial and easy to handle. O'Dwyer tells his listeners about the blue-eyed immigrant boy who arrived in this country "with just twenty-five dollars in my pocket" (speaking to a Negro audience in Harlem once, he made it only a dollar). For every locale where he speaks he has a "fondest recollection"—in this district he was once a hod carrier, in another he got married, in some precinct he was a poor cop. The impression he

The City Council

WHILE the mayoralty race commands the chief attention of New York voters, they must also choose on November 4 among candidates for other highly important offices. To the City Council, New York's governing body, there will be elected representatives from the boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, the Bronx, and Queens. Four of the many nominees to these positions have distinguished themselves by a campaign of honesty, clarity, and courage. They are: Israel Amter of Manhattan, Peter V. Cacchione of Brooklyn, Isidore Begun of the Bronx, and Paul Crosbie of Queens—the candidates of the Communist Party of New York.

Running on a "Unite for Victory" platform, these men were the first to put the finger on the Lindbergh-minded forces behind O'Dwyer's campaign. Israel Amter, originally the Communist Party nominee for mayor, withdrew his candidacy for that post in order to further the unity drive against Tammany's candidate. Amter, Cacchione, Begun, and Crosbie have a long record of militancy on behalf of labor and social measures. They have also a continuous and completely clear record of anti-fascist activity. A great many voters in New York already know that record. In 1937, when these same candidates ran for City Council, the campaign waged by them and their party resulted in 74,148 first-choice votes. To "unite for victory," voters should mark their ballots with the numeral "1" before the names of: Israel Amter, in Manhattan; Peter V. Cacchione, in Brooklyn; Isidore Begun, in the Bronx; Paul Crosbie, in Queens. After this write "2," "3," "4," and so on, before the names of other candidates who are anti-Tammany, anti-Hitler, and pro-labor. On the referendum amendments and propositions it is urged that in the interest of good government and social progress, you vote YES on Amendment No. 1; NO on Amendment No. 2; YES on Amendments No. 3 and 4; YES on Proposition No. 1; and NO on Propositions No. 2 and 3.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"Time out again! They've been in a huddle for three months."

gives is of intimate experience with the people, a man with hundreds of personal friends (some of the best being Jews). When it comes to "The Reds," he drops the genial manner and takes on his prosecuting attorney air. The line, however, is older than the Dies committee. Hitler used it well before 1933: anyone who didn't like pogroms, barbed wire, and castor oil was inviting the "Bolshies" to take over. Anyone who opposes O'Dwyer is in secret correspondence with the Kremlin.

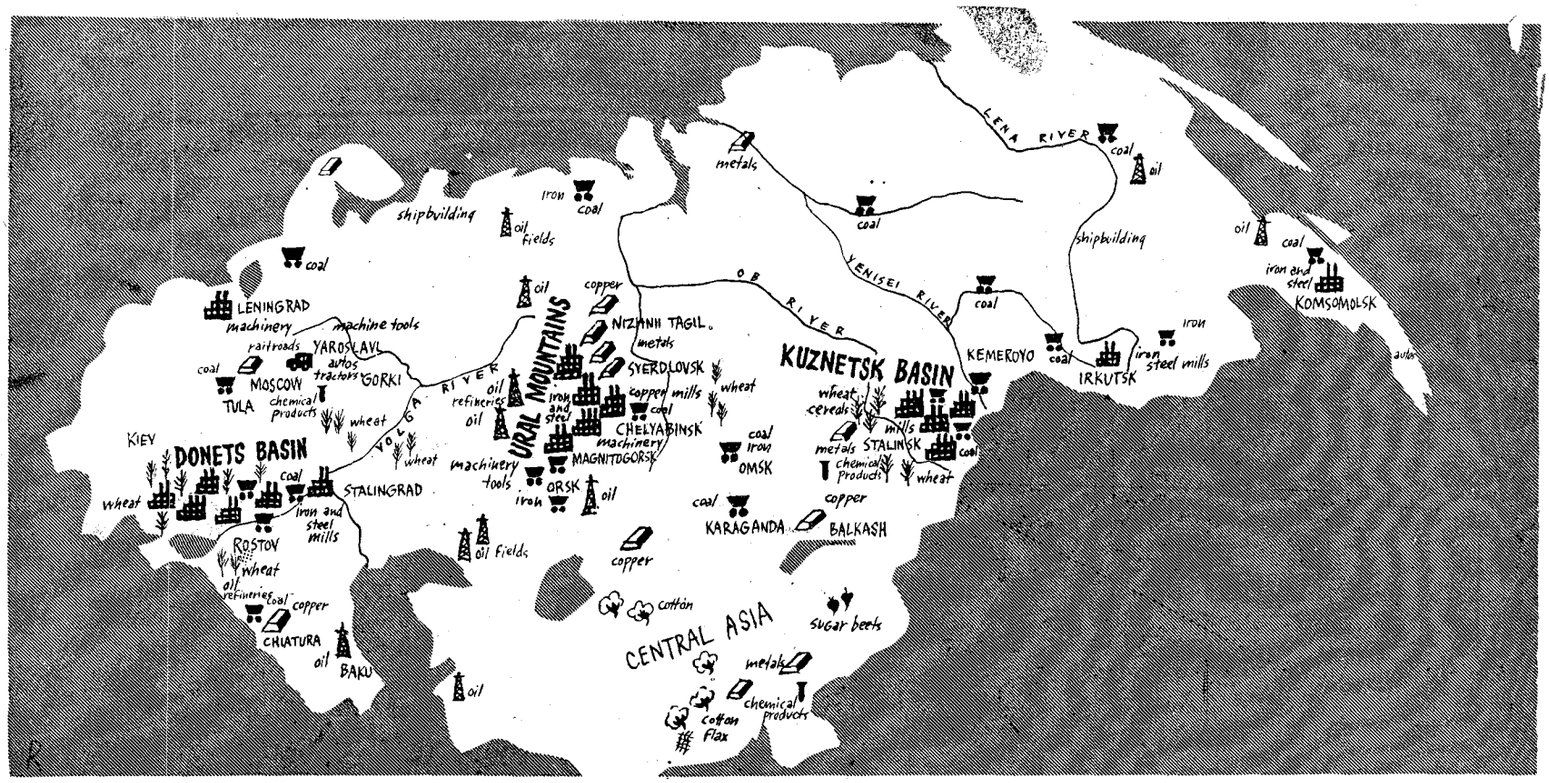
This simple litmus test of political beliefs has once or twice resulted in an embarrassing situation for the candidate. For a while during his campaign he had a fine time steaming up to radio audiences about the "Red" content of the American Labor Party. And since the ALP was Red, its candidate, LaGuardia, was certainly overcast with the same deadly hue. But on October 17, Eugene Connolly, leader of the ALP's progressive forces, told a story over the radio. Two and a half months before, Connolly related, Tammany's candidate had seen only a rather attractive pink in the ALP's complexion. In fact, he had made overtures to it through his brother, Paul O'Dwyer, and the latter's law partner, Oscar Bernstein. These two emissaries had approached Connolly and another ALP leader, Samuel Blinken, with the cool request that the American Labor Party support O'Dwyer. Their candidate, they explained, was a "friend of labor" but since he was endorsed by the Tammany machine he would likely lose the election unless labor could be persuaded to vote for him! Connolly and Blinken, of course, cut the attempted flirtation short. It was explained to the wistful emissaries that labor was perfectly aware that any ride it took on the tiger would end with the smile on the tiger's face and labor inside. Only then did O'Dwyer see Red in the ALP although, to hear him talk, he had spotted it all along.

There is, however, a "labor" committee for O'Dwyer. It's called the Labor and Progressive Committee and its secretary is—guess who!—Louis Waldman. One takes a chance with accuracy by identifying Mr. Waldman with any one political group—he has attempted to function in almost everything, always with the purpose of more effectively practicing his professional anti-Sovieteering. Energetically assisting Mr. Waldman on the committee are a few "liberal" fronters for Tammany, plus Benjamin Stolberg and Suzanne La Follette. Everybody knows of Stolberg's dirty work, the same as Martin Dies', against organized labor. As for Miss La Follette, this is not the first time that she has come down from her intellectual stratosphere to mix in the ward-heeler politics of Red-baiters. It's all part of a faithful service to her political inspirer, the late Leon Trotsky.

Opposing this bargain-counter array of "labor's friends" are the CIO and AFL, both of which support LaGuardia. Progressives and genuine liberals, with very few exceptions, have rallied against O'Dwyer. Not all the yelling in the world about "subversives," not all the quotes from an intellectual colossus like Eugene Lyons, can blur the issue.

BARBARA GILES.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE SOVIETS FORESAW IT

The powerful eastern industrial bases the USSR can draw upon. Factories and mines behind the Urals. Why the Red Army can hold out until large scale shipments arrive.

With Leningrad besieged, the industrial metropolis of Moscow threatened, and the Donets basin under heavy fire, it is only natural to wonder what the Soviet Union has built up further east. The up-to-date facts are hard to get. Statistics from such authoritative sources as the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, or the American-Russian Institute are usually given for the year 1938, which was only the beginning of the Third Five Year Plan. Moreover, no one is in a position to calculate just how much or how little Soviet engineers were able to transfer from the areas now over-run by the invader, which further invalidates the 1938 figures.

Nevertheless, it is possible to give a reassuring answer along the following lines: there *is* a powerful base of Soviet industry east of the Volga, more powerful than the world realizes. It is enough, as S. A. Lozovsky observed the other day, to keep the Soviet armies in the fight for many years. But it may not be enough to make possible the kind of large scale counter-offensives without which Hitler will not be beaten; that is why our confidence in Soviet foresight, our admiration for what they have done in Siberia must not lessen the urgency of our demand for large scale shipments of every kind of material which the other anti-fascist powers have promised, and must deliver.

The striking thing about Soviet industrialization east of the Volga is that they planned it that way. Once you dig into the subject, it becomes clear that the Soviet leaders foresaw the possibility of having to retreat in the west. So they deliberately planned an intensive industrialization beyond the Urals with an eye to uninterrupted production in case of war. In this they were also guided by the need of manufacturing their goods as closely as possible to the reserves of raw materials in Siberia. In addition, they had in mind the fact that the hitherto backward and nomadic peoples of Central Asia needed a powerful industrial base for their national development. And of course, they were able to do things on an ambitious scale because they were not hampered by the pressure of heavy capitalization in the older industrial regions. It was simply a question of manpower, time, and the planned use of their capital.

HERE ARE SOME FACTS that give you an idea of what is being done. First, three-quarters of the capital investment in the Third Five Year Plan (1938-42) has been devoted to industrialization east of the Volga. It will help drive home what that means when you remember that the capital investment of the Third Five Year Plan will be at least 150 percent of what it was in the previous plan, especially in the key industries, producing largely the means of production.

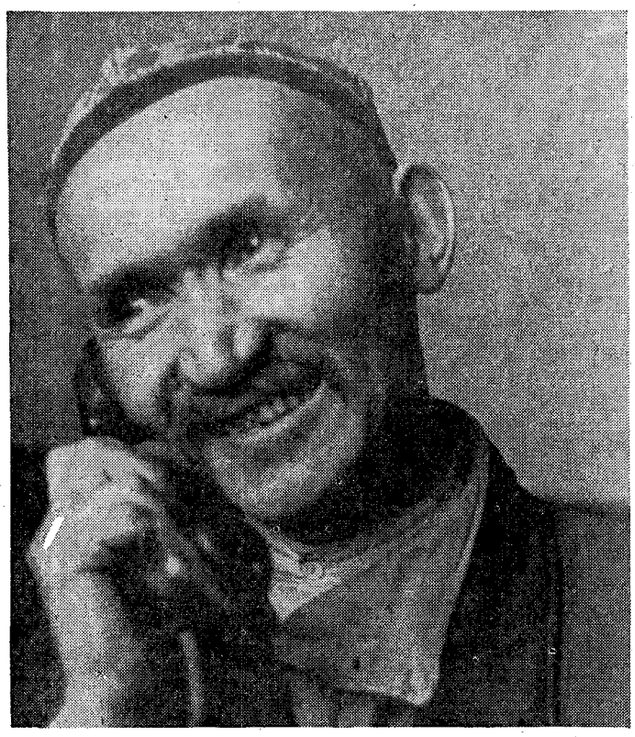
Another fact: in the resolution on the new plan, passed by the 18th Party Congress, it is specifically forbidden to build any more mills and factories in Leningrad, Moscow, Kiev, Kharkov, Rostov. This ruling was relaxed after the additions to Soviet territory in 1940, but it indicates the trend of thought, the emphasis on building up the central Asiatic and east-of-the-Urals region.

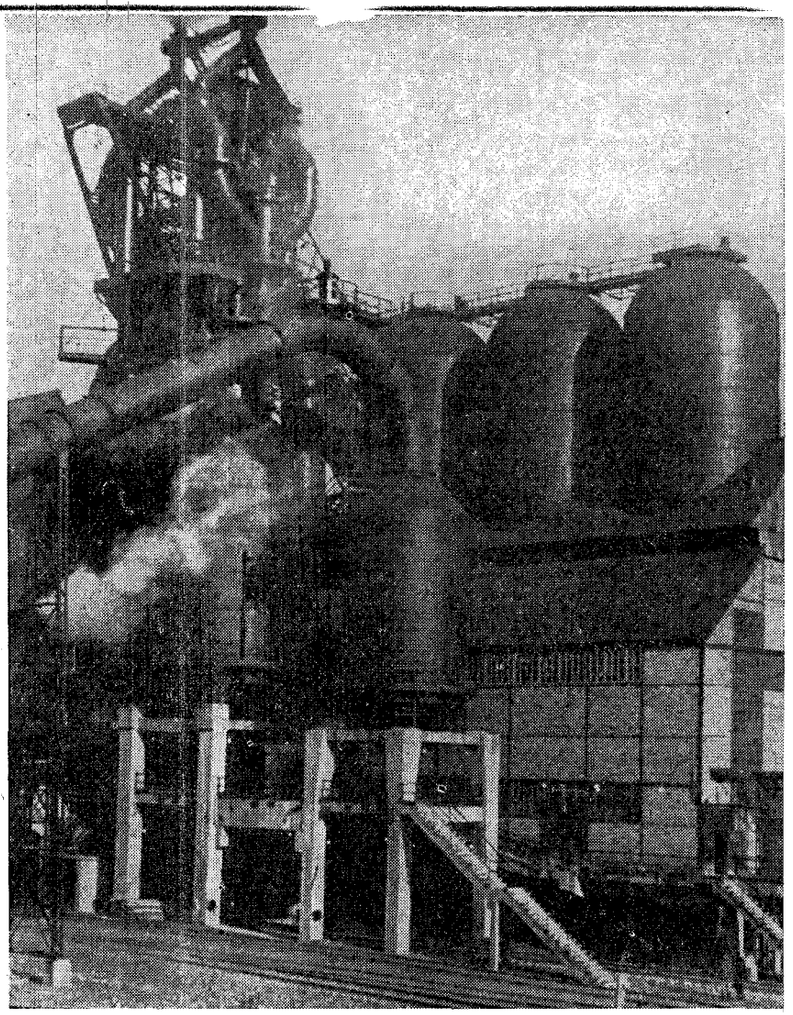
In this same resolution, it was also decided that ". . . the mania for building giant factories . . . must be resolutely combated," that ". . . a sweeping change be made in favor of building medium and small sized establishments in all branches of the national economy." The building of establishments "specialized along too narrow lines" was also criticized.

The significance of this for war production is obvious: Smaller plants get into production faster; all-around development in industrial regions avoids bottlenecks in any one material. In the Urals, for example, they have set themselves the job of actually duplicating their entire existing construction in the machine building and chemical plants so that no delays by accident or mismanagement will affect the steady functioning of industry.

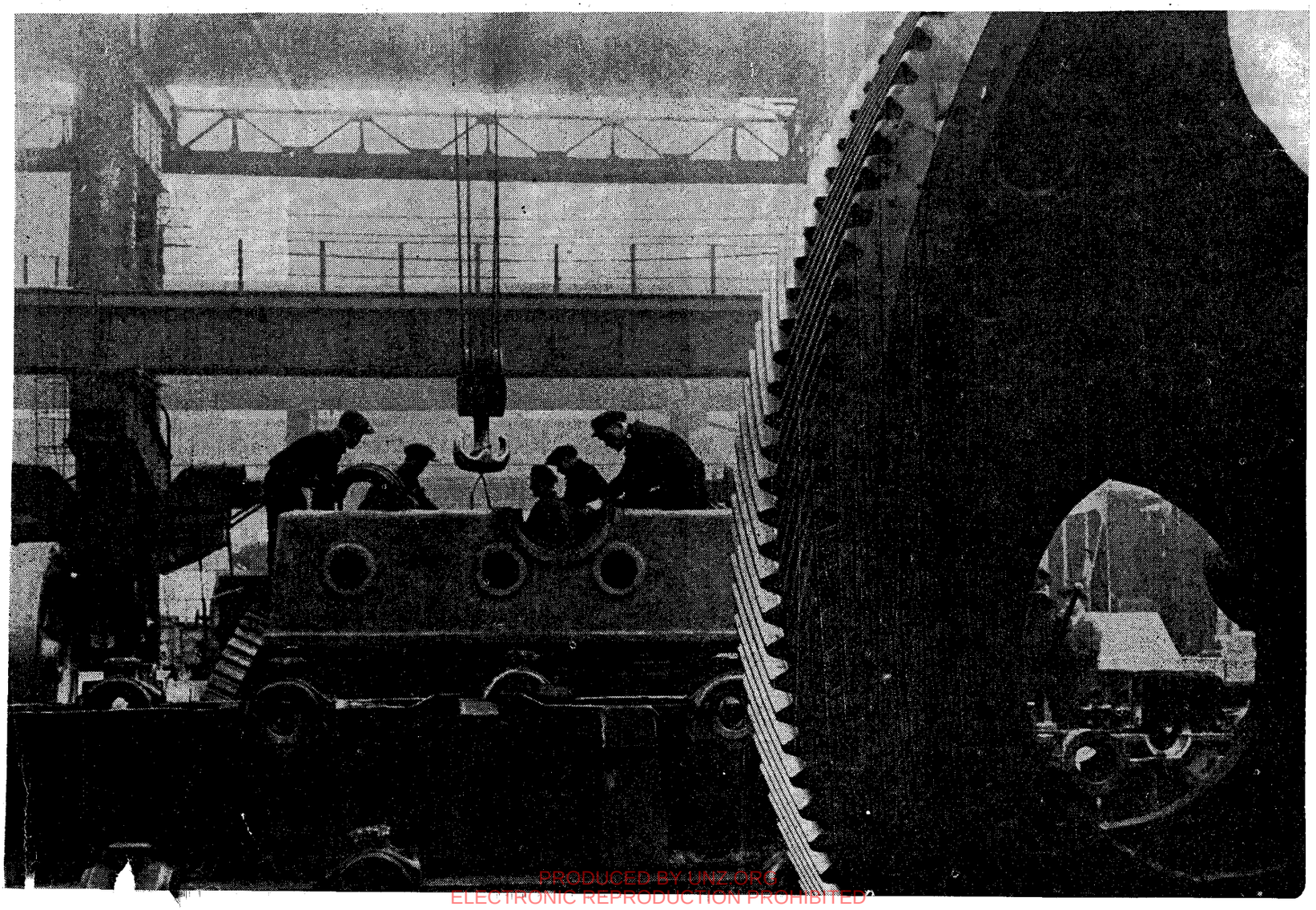
Where are these centers of productive strength located? East of Moscow there is, of course, the Volga basin and the Donets which is still far from Hitler's grasp; towns like Gorky, or Saratov, or Kuibyshev, and many others. But the big industry is set in the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

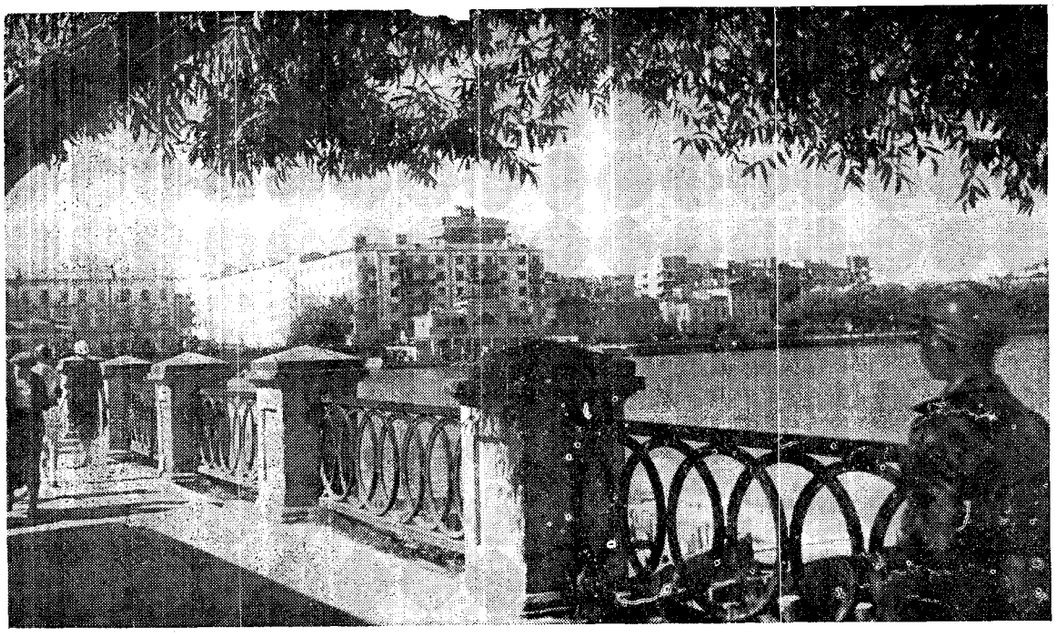




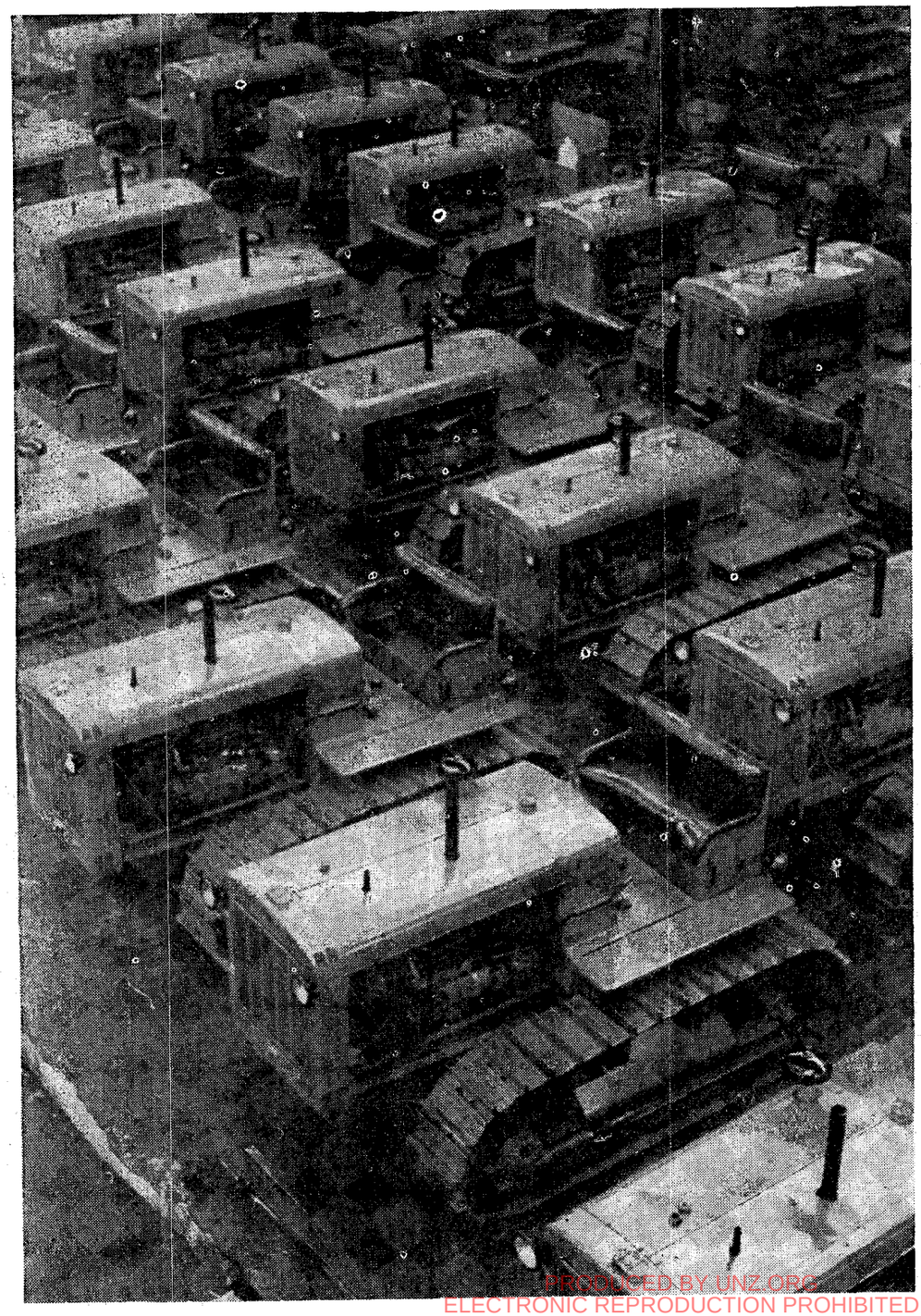
MAP *on opposite page shows the centers of heavy industry east of the Volga. (Above)* A KAZAKH *plant manager, one of the kind of men responsible for industrialization in central Asia. (Upper right)* BLAST FURNACE NO. 1 *at Nizhvi Taghil, a new plant in the Urals. (Below)* A MACHINE-BUILDING PLANT *at Sverdlov, also in the Urals.*



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



(Above) THIS IS AMONG *the many large cities that have grown up in Siberia. (Below)* A BEVY OF TRACTORS *from the Stalin plant at Chelyabinsk. Undoubtedly it makes tanks today.*



Urals, some six or seven hundred miles east of Moscow. From the north around Solikamsk going south to Orenburg and Orsk, there are vast "combinats" producing machine tools, pig iron, rolled steel, chemicals, and non-ferrous metals. New rail lines have been built running north and south with connections east, west, and southeast to Kazakhstan. In the great iron fields of the Magnit Mountain rests the famous steel mill called Magnitogorsk. Just off to the west, the stretch of soil toward the Volga has been found to bear oil. This is today called the "second Baku" and plans are that by 1942 this region will produce as much oil as did Baku in 1913. Absolute dependence on the Caucasus and the Caspian fields will be over.

SO MUCH for the Urals. Some 900 miles still further eastward lies the great basin of the Obi River, known as Kuznetsk. Here coal beds have been discovered five times as rich as the coal of the Donets. For a time this coal was shipped to the Magnitogorsk region in return for Ural ore, but now local iron fields are being exploited and a regionalized industrialization is under way. At Stalinsk there is a continuous strip-rolling mill on the model of the most modern American plants. The Ridder combine producing lead-zinc ores now furnishes sixty-one percent of total all-Union production.

Midway between the Urals and Kuznetsk, somewhat to the south, lie the newly developed areas of Kazakhstan, especially the Karaganda coal fields. This has now been connected by rail to the other centers; the new line from Karaganda to the Urals now makes it possible to substitute the Karaganda for the Kuznetsk coal, a shorter distance by 400 miles. On the shores of Lake Balkash are the Kounrad copper works, the largest in the whole world. Kazakhstan is larger in size than Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia combined. And together with the other central Asiatic republics, it is among the fastest growing areas in the Union.

An even better way to understand what is happening east of the Volga is to consider the population growth in what were only yesterday steppes and deserts. There are now seven cities of about 500,000 people, that is, seven cities the size of Buffalo or Cincinnati in and east of the Urals. There are seventy cities with populations that range down to 100,000, that is, the size of Gary, Ind.

And what I have said thus far is exclusive of the Far East, where a center of heavy industry has grown up, which we must assume is working primarily on its own defense needs.

IT IS CLEAR then that they'll keep going. What we have to do is see that our materials get across in the next weeks and months, to tide them over the critical winter period, to give them time to fulfill their own plans. That is what Mr. Harriman and Lord Beaverbrook promised.

JOSEPH STAROBIN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EASTERN FRONT: FOUR MONTHS

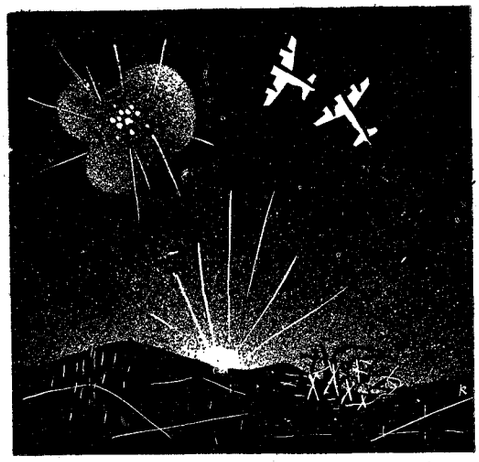
Colonel T. summarizes the major developments of the mammoth campaign. The slowing down of Nazi blitzkrieg methods. The Red Army's superior use of infantry and artillery.

AT THIS writing, when four months have elapsed since the invasion of the Soviet Union began, it seems timely to take stock of the major developments of the mammoth campaign. In four months the Germans, roughly speaking, have occupied a band of Soviet territory 500 miles wide and 1,000 miles long, or a total of 500,000 square miles. The price of this conquest has probably been not far from 4,000,000 casualties, or eight men per square mile, or two divisions per day. Truly a terrific price.

From a geographical breakdown of this offensive month by month, as roughly shown on the map and charts on the next page, we plainly see that during the first month the Nazi High Command made a definite bid for Moscow in the hope of capturing it and offering "peace." The Nazi advance reached a point some 475 miles from the border during that month, and that on the Moscow line only. The advance on the Leningrad line was about 300 miles; on the Kiev line, 200 miles; on the Odessa-Rostov line, only about fifty miles. There is no doubt that up to the second month of the war the German High Command expected to capture Moscow within six weeks from the start of the war.

The *second month* saw a complete stalemate on the Moscow line, with the Germans making a bid for Leningrad and the Ukraine on the right bank of the Dneiper. The *third month* was the least spectacular of all: a small advance toward Leningrad to invest the city, but failing to take it. On the Kharkov line—the battle east of Kiev. On the Rostov line—the investment of the Crimea. On the Moscow front general stalemate continued, with Timoshenko's armies launching a local counter-offensive at Yartsevo and Yelnia. The *fourth month* of the war saw a general broad-front offensive developing from Lake Ilmen to the Sea of Azov, with the Germans remaining comparatively passive only on the Leningrad front.

A GLANCE at the charts of the Nazi advance show that at the end of the first month the front appeared as a sharp salient pointing toward Moscow. Here we have Hitler's basic failure. He did not succeed in taking Moscow in August and to get the rest by negotiation or what is now called in France *"une petainade."* Failing this, the German High Command started to bring up its flanks. This was the job at hand during the second month. But Kiev held and formed a bulge. Leningrad held, too. So during the third month the Germans further tightened their lines around Leningrad, eliminated, at long last, the Kiev salient, and thrust toward the Crimea. The front became an almost straight line, from Leningrad to Melitopol. And then



Rodney

came the fourth and crucial month with its general assault on the broadest front ever seen: eight hundred miles of fierce fighting, with probably two hundred divisions engaged on each side.

TODAY THE FRONT LINE is licking the railroad trunk line Leningrad-Moscow-Kharkov-Rostov at many points along its 1,300-mile length. But the very symmetry and evenness of the huge line reveal the frustration of the Nazis' original plan. They hoped for a stiletto stab at Moscow and for a quick *"petainade."* Instead of that they have to hammer with all available forces along the entire length of the great front. The cost of this hammering to the German Army is, among other things, reflected in the fact that the German High Command had to bring Finnish and Hungarian divisions to the central front, thus throwing to the winds the cheap fiction that these countries were only fighting for territories they consider "their own"—along Karelia and in the Carpathians. The Germans are forced to make full use of the 100-odd divisions drawn from the people subjugated by them.

The failure of the classical blitzkrieg methods against the powerful resistance of the Red Army has also brought about a fundamental change in German tank tactics. Instead of independent fully mechanized thrusts to crack the enemy front, paralyze his rear, and produce huge encirclements and surrenders by means of unsupported tank divisions and armies, the Germans now are forced to distribute their tanks among their infantry divisions, using them for purely tactical, instead of strategic purposes. This remains a war of tanks, but the German tanks are not forming great "daggers" any more. They are being drawn up steam-roller fashion. Instead of stabbing and killing at one blow they now push and press. And, of course, instead of being shot at only along the faces of a salient, they are being engaged and destroyed along the entire front. They still keep coming, but their losses are huge. They have to fight instead of pursuing, as they did in the west. This is why their losses are greater than those of the defenders and the difference in numbers is being slowly reduced.

It is now clear after four months of war that the German Luftwaffe has completely failed to win supremacy in the air. The Germans, on the average, have been losing more than two planes to every Soviet plane. The German flyers have not reduced great cities to rubble. They have not seriously impaired the Soviet railroad system even in the immediate rear, as attested by the arrival of reinforcements from Kaluga to Bryansk within several hours. They have failed to crush the Soviet airdromes. A great toll of German tanks is being taken by Soviet dive bombers. Soviet fliers destroy a great part of German planes on the ground.

SOVIET ARTILLERY plays an outstanding role in beating off German attacks. There seems to be no numerical inferiority in that branch of the Red Army. The shortness of Soviet artillery preparation for an attack (from ten minutes to six hours) shows that Soviet artillery has a high rate and power of fire.

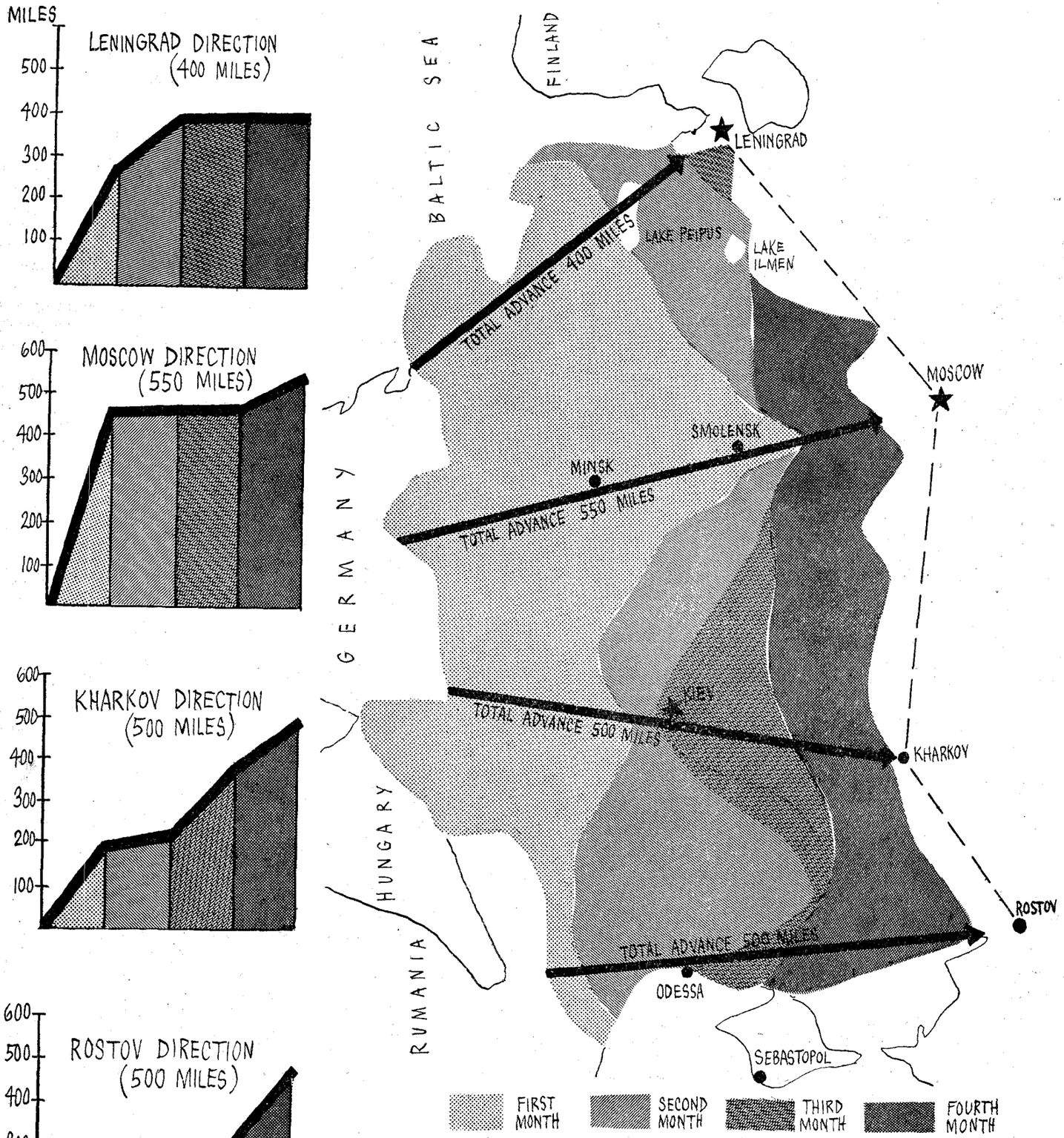
As far as infantry is concerned, it has been noted that this all-important branch of the service is superior on the Red Army side. It is superior in staying power and in dash. Soviet infantry does not waver when outflanked, does not retreat when enveloped, and does not surrender when encircled. The German infantry usually fails to stand up to a Soviet bayonet charge.

The manpower reserves of the Soviet Union are equal to at least 20,000,000 fully trained men, plus perhaps another 15,000,000 fighters trained in guerrilla warfare. Hitler cannot possibly extract more than half that number from the German people. The more Nazis are killed in the East, the less men he will be able to force into his ranks from the conquered peoples of Europe, be it in the armies or in the fields and factories.

The German lines of communications have now been stretched to the fateful (from the logistical viewpoint) length of 500 miles on the average. The length of the Soviet lines has been reduced by that much, assuming that the main army supply centers are on the Volga-Ural line. This, of course, should not be taken to mean that the Soviet Union has been benefited by a huge loss of territory, but from a military viewpoint the shortening of the lines must be chalked up as an advantage in the trial balance.

And, finally, winter has settled down on a great part of the Eastern Front. One of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE CORRELATED CHARTS AND MAP *indicate the uneven advance and in two areas (Moscow and Leningrad) the slowdown of the Nazi machine.*

the first repercussions of this portentous fact is the appearance of Nazi cavalry on the Moscow front. German radio pictures also show more and more horse-drawn vehicles. The horse will have to take the place of the motor in many cases for the next six months. Many a tank and tractor motor will be idle. The Germans here are bound to be at a certain disadvantage because their cavalry is infinitely inferior to the Soviet cavalry in numbers and in spirit. (The inferiority of the German cavalry spirit was already manifested in the first world war in most tests of arms with Russian cavalry.)

Thus we see that the main problem now is one of tanks . . . tanks . . . and once more tanks for the Red Army. The dotted line on the map, from Leningrad to Moscow, Kharkov, and Rostov may well be Doctor Faust's chalk line warding off Mephisto. It surely will be that if British and American tanks are delivered quickly to Zhukov and Timoshenko—not to speak of the opening of another front.

COLONEL T.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WOMEN IN BRITAIN'S WAR INDUSTRY

Claude Cockburn says: "The mobilization of England's womanpower in the war machine is a matter of decisive importance." Why. How to surpass Hitler's "flexibility" of labor power.

London (by cable).

SURELY, though painfully slow, the problem of womanpower is forcing itself into the center of the picture as one of the major problems of British war planning. Of course I know that our papers, and probably yours too, have been carrying plenty of material about women in our war industry, women in our war services, etc. In fact, looking through the most recent batches of hundreds of pictures of the "industrial front" taken by one of our biggest news picture agencies, I found that about ninety percent of them were of women. It's a nice angle. But that isn't by any means a picture of the facts as they are. For in reality it is only now that the question of womanpower is beginning to be rated as high in importance as it should be. And by that I don't mean that it is only "the authorities" who have been underestimating the urgency of this problem—almost everyone has, from Whitehall to the skilled male worker at the factory bench.

As with so many other current problems here, it is the urgency of the demand for more action at the British end of the Anglo-Soviet front which has been a key factor in forcing the vital importance of the womanpower problem upon everyone's attention. For it has focused attention first on Hitler's man and womanpower problem, and secondly on our own. Latest reports from Berlin published here give a minimum of forty percent as the percentage of women in the total German labor force. (This does not include occupied countries for which figures do not seem to be available.) It is certain that the requirements of the Eastern Front have again raised that percentage considerably even in the last four weeks. At the same time it is admitted —for instance by the leading organ of the German coal industry, the *Bergwerkszeitung* —that the huge scale employment of non-German labor from the occupied countries to meet the labor shortage, has involved a heavy decrease in output per man per hour. And even with these efforts to release German manpower for the army, it has been necessary for Hitler to reduce to a skeleton his forces in Western Europe. And equally it is known that the Nazi system of labor transference from industry to the army during a major campaign, and back again from the army to industry during any lull, has been developed to a very high point of flexibility. For instance, an exceptionally well informed statistician attached to the Oxford Institute of Statistics calculates that between the end of the Polish campaign and the end of the year 1939 the number of men in the German army fell by 1,000,000, while the number of men in industry rose by 1,200,000. And almost exactly the same thing happened between the end of the French campaign and the end of 1940. It is presumed that this was the real point about the reference in Hitler's last speech to the piling up of such quantities of war material that he had been "able" to close down production in certain war factories. And it is clear that it is his purpose to try to achieve another lull, another transference of labor power back to the factories, before the products of the last lull are exhausted.

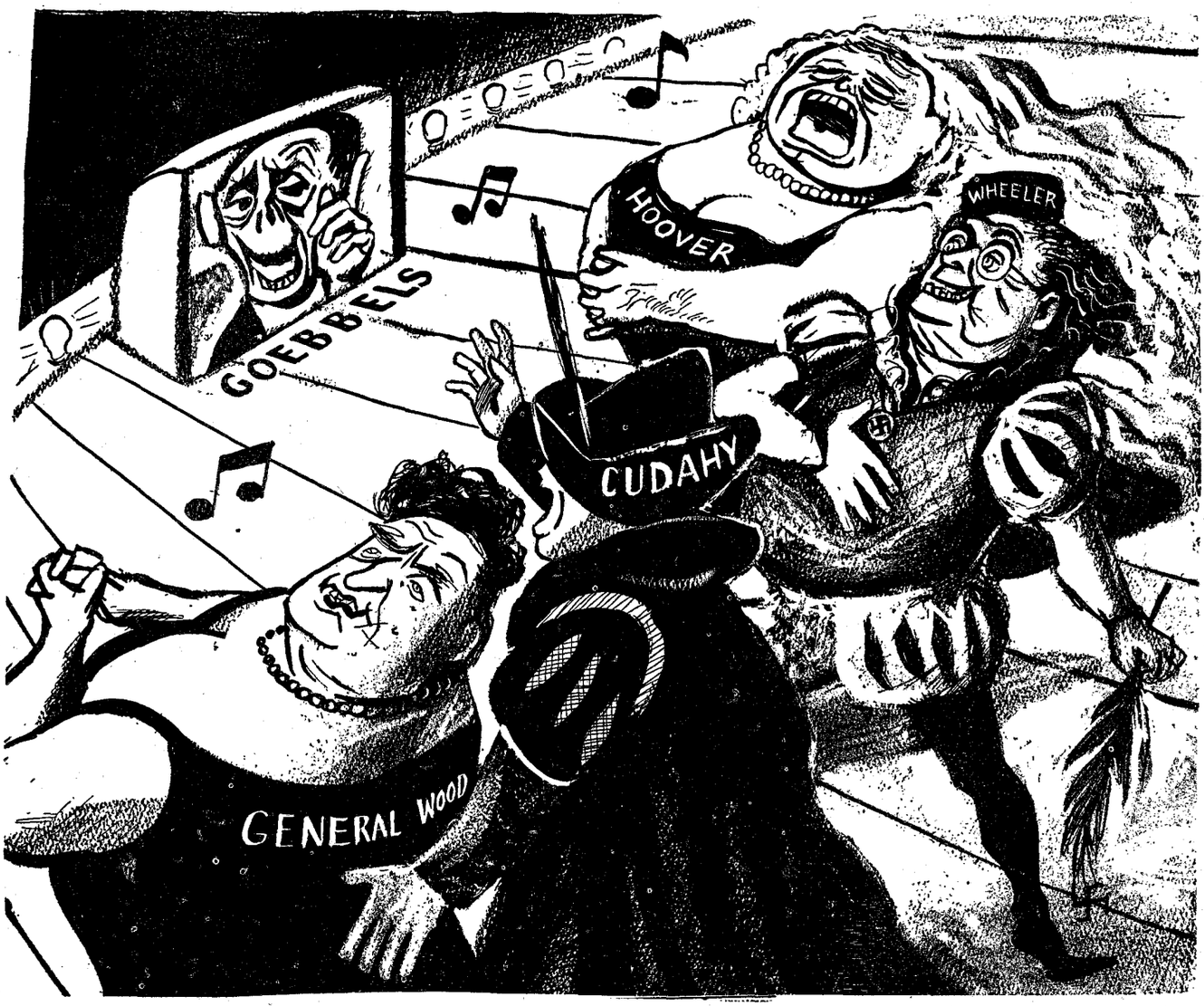
THE UPSETTING of the whole German manpower schedule is, of course, a major objective of the advocates of action now on the western front. It is not only a question of drawing off divisions from the East; it is a question, too, of the flexible but intricate and delicate man- and woman-power system of Germany. The great political struggle going on around the question of opening the western front has produced just one point of agreement between those who want to take advantage of German weakness and Russian resistance now and those who want to wait for some specified moment in the future. Both agree that both policies involve a huge and continuing increase in the total industrial and military personnel—either to feed the needs of a new front immediately, or to face whatever would happen if the present opportunity of a second front is not taken. It has been a favorite argument among the more deliberately obscurantist opponents of more vigorous action by Britain to declare that Britain cannot produce enough for the Eastern Front, maintain an army against invasion, maintain a great army in the Middle East, and maintain an invasion force in western Europe. To which it can be replied that because of the relative neglect—and again I am speaking not only of neglect by the authorities —the question of womanpower has meant that at this very moment literally hundreds of thousands of men could be released for the army and the total industrial force nevertheless increased, if available womanpower were being properly utilized. The Ministry of Labor, for instance, itself estimates that 500,000 women are needed *immediately* in industry. The requirements of the army alone for women in uniformed army work are put at 200,000. And these immediate requirements do not take into account a fact which is just as important as the need for a new "intake" of women into industry—namely, that for a large variety of reasons, the potential productive capacity of women already engaged in industry is nowhere near being attained.

ANYONE can see that it is no exaggeration under the circumstances to say that this question of the mobilization of Britain's womanpower war machine is a matter of decisive importance. An enormous movement in this direction can now be said really to be under way. You have to understand that this movement can really only start from the ground up. That is why the leading trade unionists and shop stewards have pledged themselves to lead a movement which will so far as is possible break down all barriers which at present are preventing the full employment of women's skill in industry, or which prevent the skilled men from imparting their treasured skill to the women. This movement is without precedent in British industry. Nothing like it was seen in the last war. It would require a very complicated and detailed description of existing conditions to explain exactly why and how this new spirit in industry will work. But it can be stated that this alone—something which can be achieved by the action of shop stewards themselves—will unquestionably raise the productive capacity of the total womanpower already nominally engaged in industry by a very large percentage within a very short space of time.

IN FACT, what is in process of creation here is a unity of men and women workers such as has never been seen in western Europe before. It is going to be a tough process. Don't underestimate the grimness of the doubts and misgivings of the older skilled men. Don't underestimate the effects of the suspicion and cynicism bred during the setbacks and defeats of the first period of this war. Don't underestimate the delaying effect of the suspicions and uncertainties caused among very wide sections of workers by the failure to open the western front at this time. Don't underestimate the difficulties of what amounts to an earthquake in a society which now has to mobilize its women for industry, which has to face the probability that within a fairly short time the majority of industrial workers will actually have to be made up of women, and which nevertheless has not yet even begun to establish adequate nurseries for the children of women already engaged in industry.

Nevertheless, despite all this the job will be done. Here is an outline of proposals which have been drawn up by representative women —eighty percent of them factory workers— designed "to remove the obstacles at present preventing the women of Britain from playing their full part in industrial production." These proposals have been accepted by delegates from factories throughout the London area and have been presented, and in the main endorsed, by women members of Parliament of all parties. It is pointed out that "undoubtedly the most important of all questions holding women back from war work

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Michaels

"Du, Du, liegst mir im Herzen. . . ."

is that of the low wages paid. A woman in a machine factory now earns a minimum of thirty-eight shillings. [A shilling is worth a trifle more than twenty cents.] After taking three tests at government training centers she will get forty-seven shillings. A man's rates are twenty-two shillings and sixpence more throughout the training course. But when the woman starts work she frequently drops back to thirty-eight shillings plus bonus. For instance, on piece work she will get five shillings bonus. Average earnings for adult women in machine factories today are almost certainly below fifty shillings per week which is equivalent to thirty-nine shillings pre-war. Insurance, fares, meals away from home have to be paid for. Women may also have to pay to have babies minded and there are additional expenses for extra laundry sent out and for more ready cooked food. If the husband is at work there will also be a considerable deduction for income tax."

IT IS SUGGESTED that joint pressure through workshop organizations and trade union branches can secure agreements for women's wages which will rectify this situation and will ensure that all factories follow the precedent of equal pay for men and women which has already been established throughout the transport industries. They demand further the establishment of proper nursery schools and play centers, the universal and continual provision of school meals, and a great extension of communal feeding centers so as to lighten the cooking problem of married women in industry. Further it is suggested that as regards the hours of work which at present leave no time in many cases for shopping or household tasks, there should be a working week of not more than fifty-four hours, including overtime and the provision of time off for shopping on certain days. This latter proposal has been adopted with success in at least one large arms factory in the London area.

Further, there are detailed proposals for the organization of part-time work for women whose domestic responsibilities render it impossible for them to do full-time in industry. This has also been tried with astonishing success in a number of factories where, for instance, previously a difficulty was found in getting women volunteers but where now there are long lists of applicants for part-time work.

Other proposals deal in detail with the training of women for war industry. The proposals conclude by pointing out that "the abilities of women are often wasted by mismanagement and inefficiency in organization which allow many hours to be spent knitting beside idle machines. This causes disillusionment and deters many women from offering services of which so little use is made. Cooperation between management and workers with full representation of the women in a joint drive to increase production will alone put an end to such muddle and inefficiency. If the women of Britain working in close cooperation with the men, through workshop and trade union organization and through the cooperative guilds and other such bodies, draw attention to the difficulties and problems and secure action for their rapid redress, they will be serving the country well by releasing new sources of womanpower and industry and securing the rapid increase in output so urgently needed in these days when the whole future of humanity is in the balance."

CLAUDE COCKBURN.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MISTER TOUSSAN

The two boys sat there asking each other what they would do if they had wings . . . wings that might even take one of them to Africa. . . . A short story by Ralph Ellison.

Once upon a time
The goose drink wine
Monkey chew tobacco
And he spit white lime.
—Rhyme used as a prologue to Negro slave stories.

"I HOPE they all gits rotten and the worms git in 'em," the first boy said.

"I hopes a big wind storm comes and blows down all the trees," said the second boy.

"Me too," the first boy said. "And when ole Rogan comes out to see what happened I hope a tree falls on his head and kills him."

"Now jus' look a-yonder at them birds," the second boy said, "they eating all they want and when we asked him to let us git some off the ground he had to come calling us little nigguhs and chasing us home!"

"Doggonit," said the second boy, "I hope them birds got poison in they feet!"

The two small boys, Riley and Buster, sat on the floor of the porch, their bare feet resting upon the cool earth as they stared past the line on the paving where the sun consumed the shade, to a yard directly across the street. The grass in the yard was very green and a house stood against it, neat and white in the morning sun. A double row of trees stood alongside the house, heavy with cherries that showed deep red against the dark green of the leaves and dull dark brown of the branches. They were watching an old man who rocked himself in a chair as he stared back at them across the street.

"Just look at him," said Buster. "Ole Rogan's so scared we gonna git some his ole cherries he ain't even got sense enough to go in outa the sun!"

"Well, them birds is gitting their'n," said Riley.

"They mocking birds."

"I don't care what kinda birds they is, they sho in them trees."

"Yeah, ole Rogan don't see *them*. Man, I tell you white folks ain't got no sense."

They were silent now, watching the darting flight of the birds into the trees. Behind them they could hear the clatter of a sewing machine: Riley's mother was sewing for the white folks. It was quiet and as the woman worked, her voice rose above the whirring machine in song.

"Your mamma sho can sing, man," said Buster.

"She sings in the choir," said Riley, "and she sings all the leads in church."

"Shucks, I know it," said Buster. "You tryin' to brag?"

As they listened they heard the voice rise clear and liquid to float upon the morning air:

I got wings, you got wings,
All God's chillun got a-wings
When I git to heaven gonna put on my wings
Gonna shout all ovah God's heaven.
Heab'n, heab'n
Everybody talkin' 'bout heab'n ain't going there
Heab'n, heab'n, Ah'm gonna fly all ovah God's heab'n. . . .

She sang as though the words possessed a deep and throbbing meaning for her, and the boys stared blankly at the earth, feeling the somber, mysterious calm of church. The street was quiet and even old Rogan had stopped rocking to listen. Finally the voice trailed off to a hum and became lost in the clatter of the busy machine.

"Wish I could sing like that," said Buster.

Riley was silent, looking down to the end of the porch where the sun had eaten a bright square into the shade, fixing a flitting butterfly in its brilliance.

"What would you do if you had wings?" he said.

"Shucks, I'd outfly an eagle, I wouldn't stop flying till I was a million, billion, trillion, zillion miles away from this ole town."

"Where'd you go, man?"

"Up north, maybe to Chicago."

"Man, if I had wings I wouldn't never settle down."

"Me, neither. Hecks, with wings you could go anywhere, even up to the sun if it wasn't too hot. . . ."

". . . I'd go to New York. . . ."

"Even around the stars. . . ."

"Or Dee-troit, Michigan. . . ."

"Hell, you could git some cheese off the moon and some milk from the Milkyway. . . ."

"Or anywhere else colored is free. . . ."

"I bet I'd loop-the-loop. . . ."

"And parachute. . . ."

"I'd land in Africa and git me some diamonds. . . ."

"Yeah, and them cannibals would eat the hell outa you too," said Riley.

"The heck they would, not fast as I'd fly away. . . ."

"Man, they'd catch you and stick soma them long spears in your behin'!" said Riley.

Buster laughed as Riley shook his head gravely: "Boy, you'd look like a black pin cushion when they got through with you," said Riley.

"Shucks, man, they couldn't catch me, them suckers is too lazy. The geography book says they 'bout the most lazy folks in the whole world," said Buster with disgust, "just black and lazy!"

"Aw naw, they ain't neither," exploded Riley.

"They is too! The geography book says they is!"

"Well, my ole man says they ain't!"

"How come they ain't then?"

"'Cause my ole man says that over there they got kings and diamonds and gold and ivory, and if they got all them things, all of 'em cain't be lazy," said Riley. "Ain't many colored folks over here got them things."

"Sho ain't, man. The white folks won't let 'em," said Buster.

It was good to think that all the Africans were not lazy. He tried to remember all he had heard of Africa as he watched a purple pigeon sail down into the street and scratch where a horse had passed. Then, as he remembered a story his teacher had told him, he saw a car rolling swiftly up the street and the pigeon stretching its wings and lifting easily into the air, skimming the top of the car in its slow, rocking flight. He watched it rise and disappear where the taut telephone wires cut the sky above the curb. Buster felt good. Riley scratched his initials in the soft earth with his big toe.

"Riley, you know all them African guys ain't really that lazy," he said.

"I know they ain't," said Riley, "I just tole you so."

"Yeah, but my teacher tole me, too. She tole us 'bout one of them African guys named Toussan what she said whipped Napoleon!"

Riley stopped scratching in the earth and looked up, his eyes rolling in disgust:

"Now how come you have to start lying?"

"Thass what she said."

"Boy, you oughta quit telling them things."

"I hope God may kill me."

"She said he was a *African?*"

"Cross my heart, man. . . ."

"Really?"

"Really, man. She said he come from a place named Hayti."

Riley looked hard at Buster and seeing the seriousness of the face felt the excitement of a story rise up within him.

"Buster, I'll bet a fat man you lyin'. What'd that teacher say?"

"Really, man, she said that Toussan and his men got up on one of them African mountains and shot down them peckerwood soldiers fass as they'd try to come up. . . ."

"Why good-God-a-mighty!" yelled Riley.

"Oh boy, they shot 'em down!" chanted Buster.

"Tell me about it, man!"

"And they throwed 'em off the mountain. . . ."

". . . Goool-leee! . . ."

". . . And Toussan drove 'em cross the sand. . . ."

". . . Yeah! And what was they wearing, Buster? . . ."

"Man, they had on red uniforms and blue hats all trimmed with gold, and they had

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some swords all shining what they called sweet blades of Damascus. . . ."

"Sweet blades of Damascus! . . ."

". . . They really had 'em," chanted Buster.

"And what kinda guns?"

"Big, black cannon!"

"And where did ole what-you-call-'im run them guys? . . ."

"His name was Toussan."

"Toussan! Just like Tarzan. . . ."

"Not *Taar*-zan, dummy, *Toou*-zan!"

"Toussan! And where'd ole Toussan run 'em?"

"Down to the water, man. . . ."

". . . To the river water. . . ."

". . . Where some great big ole boats was waiting for 'em. . . ."

". . . Go on, Buster!"

"An' Toussan shot into them boats. . . ."

". . . He shot into em. . . ."

". . . Shot into them boats. . . ."

"Jesus!! . . ."

"With his great big cannons. . . ."

". . . Yeah! . . ."

". . . Made a-brass. . . ."

". . . Brass. . . ."

". . . An' his big black cannon balls started killin' them peckerwoods. . . ."

". . . Lawd, Lawd. . . ."

". . . Boy, till them peckerwoods hollowed *Please, Please, Mister Toussan, we'll be good!*"

"An' what'd Toussan tell em, Buster?"

"Boy, he said in his big deep voice, *I oughta drown all a-you bastards.*"

"An' what'd the peckerwoods say?"

"They said, Please, Please, *Please, Mister Toussan. . . .*"

". . . We'll be good," broke in Riley.

"Thass right, man," said Buster excitedly. He clapped his hands and kicked his heels against the earth, his black face glowing in a burst of rhythmic joy.

"Boy!"

"And what'd ole Toussan say then?"

"He said in his big deep voice: *You all peckerwoods better be good, 'cause this is sweet Papa Toussan talking and my nigguhs is crazy 'bout white meat!*"

"Ho, ho, ho!" Riley bent double with laughter. The rhythm still throbbed within him and he wanted the story to go on and on. . . .

"Buster, you know didn't no teacher tell you that lie," he said.

"Yes she did, man."

"She said there was really a guy like that what called hisself Sweet Papa Toussan?"

Riley's voice was unbelieving and there was a wistful expression in his eyes which Buster could not understand. Finally he dropped his head and grinned.

"Well," he said, "I bet thass what ole Toussan said. You know how grown folks is, they cain't tell a story right, 'cepting real old folks like grandma."

"They sho cain't," said Riley. "They don't know how to put the right stuff to it."

Riley stood, his legs spread wide and stuck his thumbs in the top of his trousers, swaggering sinisterly.

"Come on, watch me do it now, Buster. Now I bet ole Toussan looked down at them white folks standing just about like this and said in a soft easy voice: Ain't I done begged you white folks to quit messin' with me? . . ."

"Thass right, quit messing with 'im," chanted Buster.

"But naw, you-all all had to come on anyway. . . ."

". . . Jus' 'cause they was black. . . ."

"Thass right," said Riley. "Then ole Toussan felt so damn bad and mad the tears come a-trickling down. . . ."

". . . He was really mad."

"And then, man, he said in his big bass voice: Goddamn you white folks, how come you all cain't let us colored alone?"

". . . An' he was crying. . . ."

". . . An' Toussan tole them peckerwoods: I been beggin' you-all to quit bothering us. . . ."

". . . Beggin' on his bended knees! . . ."

"Then, man, Toussan got real mad and snatched off his hat and started stompin' up and down on it and the tears was tricklin' down and he said: You-all come tellin' me about Napoleon. . . ."

"They was tryin' to scare him, man. . . ."

"Said: I don't give a damn about Napoleon. . . ."

". . . Wasn't studyin' 'bout him. . . ."

". . . Toussan said: Napoleon ain't nothing but a man! Then Toussan pulled back his shining sword like this, and twirled it at them peckerwoods' throats so hard it z-z-z-zinged in the air!"

"Now keep on, finish it, man," said Buster. "What'd Toussan do then?"

"Then you know what he did, he said: I oughta beat the hell outa you peckerwoods!"

"Thass right, and he did it too," said Buster. He jumped to his feet and fenced violently with five desperate imaginary soldiers, running each through with his imaginary sword. Buster watched him from the porch, grinning.

"Toussan musta scared them white folks almost to death!"

"Yeah, thass 'bout the way it was," said Buster. The rhythm was dying now and he sat back upon the porch, breathing tiredly.

"It sho is a good story," said Riley.

"Hecks, man, all the stories my teacher tells us is good. She's a good ole teacher—but you know one thing?"

"Naw; what?"

"Ain't none of them stories in the books! Wonder why?"

"Hell, you know why, Ole Toussan was too hard on them white folks, thass why."

"Oh, he was a hard man!"

"He was mean. . . ."

"But a good mean!"

"Toussan was clean. . . ."

". . . He was a good, clean mean," said Riley.

"Aw, man, he was sooo-preme," said Buster.

"Riiiley!!"

The boys stopped short in their word play, their mouths wide.

"Riley, I say!" It was Riley's mother's voice.

"Ma'am?"

"She musta heard us cussin'," whispered Buster.

"Shut up, man. . . . What you want, Ma?"

"I says I wants you-all to go round in the backyard and play, you keeping up too much fuss out there. White folks says we tear up a neighborhood when we move in it and you-all out there jus' provin' them out true. Now git on round in the back."

"Aw, ma, we was jus' playing, ma. . . ."

"Boy, I said for you-all to go on."

"But, ma . . ."

"You hear me, boy!"

"Yessum, we going," said Riley. "Come on, Buster."

Buster followed slowly behind, feeling the dew upon his feet as he walked upon the shaded grass.

"What else did he do, man?" Buster said.

"Huh? Rogan?"

"Hecks, naw! I'm talkin' 'bout Toussan."

"Doggone if I know, man—but I'm gonna ask that teacher."

"He was a fightin' son-of-a-gun, wasn't he, man?"

"He didn't stand for no foolishness," said Riley reservedly. He thought of other things now, and as he moved along he slid his feet easily over the short-cut grass, dancing as he chanted:

Iron is iron,
And tin is tin,
And that's the way
The story. . . .

"Aw come on man," interrupted Buster. "Let's go play in the alley. . . ."

And that's the way. . . .

"Maybe we can slip around and git some cherries," Buster went on.

. . . *the story ends,* chanted Riley.

RALPH ELLISON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

Editors

BARBARA GILES, A. B. MAGIL, RUTH McKENNEY, BRUCE MINTON, JOSEPH NORTH, JOSEPH STAROBIN, JOHN STUART

Business Manager

CARL BRISTEL

The Tempo Quickens

THE President's speech on Navy Day, just five months after the declaration of the unlimited national emergency, was strong and unambiguous. It comes on the ground swell of popular feeling that we have dawdled too long, and it gives leadership at a critical moment in the struggle against Hitler when leadership was never more necessary. It will encourage the people of London and reassure the defenders of Moscow.

The most significant single idea of the address was that "the shooting has started." Hitler has demonstrated his designs on our national security, not only by his campaign in Europe but by the invasion of the high seas through ruthless raiders and submarines, the purpose of which is to prevent the fulfillment of our pledges to Britain and the Soviet Union. The President made it clear that we intend to fulfill those pledges, "to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism."

And for this, no special ceremonies or declarations are needed at the moment. We need only to "deliver the goods" into the "harbors of our friends," the British, the Russians, and the Chinese, as Mr. Roosevelt himself enumerated them. If Hitler interferes, our Navy is to follow the orders that still stand, "to shoot on sight."

ONE OF OUR EDITORS had an experience the other night that sheds light on the problem of getting full cooperation among the British, American, and Soviet peoples, the central problem which faces us all. It was at a dance of one of the local unions; a British seaman, visiting in port, was introduced to the audience; as the generous applause died down, someone shouted: "Open the western front." The seaman was a bit taken aback, since it appeared that he was being held responsible for his government's hesitation in opening a front in the West. He thanked the audience for the grand welcome, but managed to say that he hoped the Yanks would be coming "in there" soon.

This story underlines much of our problem these days. Altogether too many of us place the burden of action in the West on the British people, whereas the fact is that the people of Britain are already ahead of their government, are bringing heavy pressure to bear for a clear definition of their government's policy. The deeper truth is that opening the western front is *just as much an American responsibility* and that because our own security and independence are in jeopardy. We Americans have yet to mobilize fully behind the declared policies of the President; there is still much to be done to bring home to the administration the desire of the people for a bolder, more comprehensive program against Hitler. We want that western front realized, and at once; therefore, it behooves us to prove that we are ready to "get in there" and do our share.

THAT THE BRITISH PEOPLE aren't taking no for an answer is becoming clearer each day. Two weeks ago there was the conference of the National Council of Shop Stewards. The men in the plants laid plans for greater production, made it plain that they would not tolerate any hijinks in high places. Then there there was the delegation from the big London factories which laid a demand on Churchill's desk for opening a front against Hitler. And last week there was the dramatic mass meeting at Trafalgar Square sponsored by the London Labor Party, the Royal Arsenal Cooperative, the London Trades Council, and supported by the London district of the Communist Party. The meeting was impatient with Miss Ellen Wilkinson's effort to apologize for governmental hesitation. Likewise in the House, many Labor MPs re-emphasized their dissatisfaction with Anthony Eden's effort to explain the government's attitude. Sharp criticism was directed against the erstwhile appeasers, men like Margesson, Halifax, and others who are still entrenched in the war Cabinet.

The people of Britain are ready for sacrifices and even losses, because they feel that their national interest hangs on unity with Russia, their honor demands common action to lighten Russia's burden and trap Hitler in a real two-front war.

NOR SHOULD THERE BE any illusions of how difficult things are on the Eastern Front. The Nazis have resumed their offensive against Moscow, despite the loss of some 300,000 men. And even if they are held at the gates of the capital, their progress in the southern Ukraine is serious. This the Soviet High Command itself recognized by assigning Timoshenko to the Donets region, while Voroshilov and Budenny organize new armies. The area from Kharkov to Rostov is highly industrialized; its loss would not be decisive from the point of view of total Soviet production, but strategically, the danger is that a Nazi drive toward Astrakhan would cut off the Caucasus and endanger the Iranian route for American and British supplies.

Moreover, should the Nazis consolidate their advances from the Don to the Volga, they would gain a flank against the entire British position in the Near East. It is therefore understandable that the British High Command should be centering its attention on defending this region this winter. But the best defense, both of the British and Soviet position, as the Londoners understand clearly, is to strike against Hitler in the West, to engage his forces before they reach the head of the Caspian.

THE NEUTRALITY DEBATE is reaching its last phases; the House has passed the resolution for arming our ships and the Senate is now discussing it. Amendments are being offered for a full revision of the Neutrality Act, and perhaps for a complete scrapping of the act itself. As Bruce Minton discusses elsewhere, the debate on the outworn neutrality laws has proved that the President need not have been so cautious in pushing his program as he was. It proves that a real degree of unity is being achieved in Congress, even if this unity comes about because of a certain ambition among the Willkie Republicans to outdistance the Democrats in foreign policy.

Most striking of all, the debate reveals that the trend away from isolation is in full swing. The people are speaking up, and in proportion as they do, things are happening. And as the neutrality laws are being junked, the same kind of pressure must be applied for improving production, for larger scale help to the Eastern Front, for bolder measures against Hitler on the seas.

TWO EXAMPLES of this popular movement for an all-out struggle are worth more comment. Take the appeal for a declaration of war signed by 200 youth leaders, among them the heads of various religious organizations, the editor of the Chicago U's *Maroon,* and many others. This is a significant appeal because it is no secret that the morale of sections of the young people has been undermined by a certain nihilistic attitude toward the war. Many values have been debunked in the last two decades without giving young people a deeper realization of the things that are still worth fighting for, both in the present and the future. This kind of nihilism has had certain repercussions in the armed forces; it is the sort of thing the Nazis knew how to take advantage of in Germany. That is why it is significant that the youth are speaking up. They realize, as all of us do, that the issues of our generation have now been thrown into the melting pot of armed conflict. Arms will decide the future. The day is past for a decision in any other way.

Another example of what is happening in the country was the mass meeting of some 60,000 New Yorkers at Madison Square Park last week, sponsored by various CIO and AFL unions. Mayor LaGuardia spoke briefly, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise made a strong appeal for unity, representatives of various unions raised their voices for an all-out effort. A meeting of this kind holds forth the promise of close cooperation between CIO and AFL workers, which would in itself attract the white collar and middle classes to a national front against Hitler. Even more, it is a sign that the trade unions have passed the stage of adopting resolutions. They are moving on to the streets, taking their message to the whole people in a dramatic way.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BUT THERE WAS ONE EVENT that mars the picture. It seems there are still men in high places out of step with the rest of us. We refer to the action of the Maritime Commission, or some individual in that commission, announcing that henceforth our help to the Soviets would go only from the port of Boston to Archangel, thus abandoning the route to Vladivostok.

This announcement was sharply criticized by the White House and the Maritime Commission corrected itself, attributing the incident to a misunderstanding. Some observers have blamed it on the pressure of various congressmen to get some of the goods flowing through their areas. Others have seen in the event an effort to mollify Japan, a concession to the Japanese who have, of course, been protesting the shipment of supplies to Vladivostok. But whatever the facts are, the incident is disturbing. If it is a mere matter of mismanagement by some individual, it is intolerable that this should happen in so serious a matter as getting supplies to the Eastern Front. If it was a way of appeasing the Japanese, it is even more objectionable. *It is high time we took no guff from Japan on any question,* much less a question so vital as sending supplies to a friendly power, a power which is fighting not only its own battle but our battle too.

Plain Talk to Japan

SECRETARY of the Navy Knox's statement that a clash with Japan was practically inevitable because of the aggressive policies of the Japanese government helps clear the air of the ambiguities that have surrounded American-Japanese relations. Whether or not Knox's warning was intended to counteract lingering appeasement tendencies in the State Department, it has the effect of strengthening this country's hand in the Far East by presenting the Tojo Cabinet with the only kind of argument it understands: the threat of force if Japan dares to move against the vital defense positions of the United States. There ought to be no time lost in making clear what those defense positions are: Soviet Siberia, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines, the Malay Peninsula, Burma, and Thailand. This is all the more necessary in view of the fact that only one day before Secretary Knox declared that "the Japanese have no intention of giving up their plans for expansion," they launched a border raid against Siberia. That is a raid against our own first line of defense and ought to be treated as such.

The problems which the United States faces in the Far East are greatly complicated by the fact that the major arena of anti-Axis struggle is undoubtedly in Europe and the Atlantic. Certain elements in the State Department are attempting to use this in an effort to justify appeasement of Japan. If that policy has done incalculable harm in the past, today it is suicidal. The Nazi attack on the Soviet Union has created a direct link between Europe and Asia. Anything that weakens the American position in the Far East in the name of buying "peace" is, therefore, tantamount to strengthening Hitler.

Secretary Knox's speech should be backed up by the opening of immediate discussions among the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, and China for active military collaboration in the Far East. Together with this, full participation by this country in the world-wide war against Hitlerism would act as a powerful check on Japanese ambitions. In fact, nothing would have such a sobering effect on the Tokyo warlords.

The Coal Strike

WITHOUT argument, workers in the captive mines have a legitimate demand against the steel companies when they ask for a closed shop. Without argument, the employers have pursued dilatory tactics, trying to take advantage of critical times to put the miners on the spot. In the interests of our whole defense program—which is now synonymous with national security—the administration has the task of seeing to it that the needs of the miners, like those of all other workers, are respected. The need is to resist all attempts to undermine organized labor by corporations still adopting a union-hating attitude.

But when John L. Lewis ordered the miners to stop work, he did not act in their best interests, or in the interests of the whole labor movement. Today labor concentrates first and foremost on the battle to halt Hitlerism. Almost unanimously the unions understand the urgency to lend every ounce of strength to the race for production.

Yet for his part John L. Lewis introduced confusion and delay by resorting to strike before fully exhausting all possibilities for a peaceful settlement. For all Lewis' doubts, there is every reason to believe that the proposals put forward by the President for settling the dispute through negotiations were made in good faith. But Lewis, who has aligned himself with Hoover, Landon, and Lindbergh, who has given comfort to the appeasers and the America First friends of Hitlerism, has now played into the hands of those reactionaries who would provoke labor into rash action and who would use such actions as an excuse to attack all labor.

In the Name of Justice . . .

EARL BROWDER has been in Atlanta Penitentiary for seven months. The Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder points out that the issue is no more complicated, no more subtle than any other issue involving the most elementary justice. "The records of other cases of similar violations," the committee states, "show that ordinary sentences are suspended, or in the majority of cases, do not exceed thirty to ninety days."

It is in the name of justice that hundreds of thousands are signing the petitions addressed to President Roosevelt, urging Browder's freedom. During the two-day drive to get signatures, the men and women who stood before factory gates and rang doorbells throughout the nation were greeted with friendly eagerness. It is too soon yet to tabulate the full results. But in Butte, Mont., 1,000 miners wrote their names on the petition; at a New York open-air meeting, another 1,000 signed; and in a farm community in Wisconsin, 750 people—the majority of the adult population—entered their names to free one of America's mightiest anti-fascist fighters.

Again, in the name of justice, a city-wide conference to speed the Free Browder drive will be held November 1 at the Riverside Plaza Hotel, 253 West 73d St., New York City. Endorsing this conference are Arthur Upham Pope, Richard Wright, Rockwell Kent, Dr. Max Yergan, Art Young, Aline Davis Hays, Vito Marcantonio, Lewis Merrill, Rev. W. B. Spofford, and many others.

Testimony for Unity

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN meetings are traditionally colorful. But rarely has there been a meeting such as that which filled every inch of space in the Garden on October 27 and overflowed into the streets in an overwhelming demonstration for utmost aid to the Soviet Union. Held under the auspices of Russian War Relief, Inc., the meeting gave testimony in the spirit and character of both audience and speakers of the growing national unity in the struggle against Hitlerism.

Perhaps the high point of the gathering was the address of Joseph E. Davies, former ambassador to the Soviet Union. "Russia," he said as the Garden shook with applause, "will continue to fight in front of Moscow, behind Moscow, between the Volga and the Urals, behind the Urals and behind the German lines. We must keep faith with those who die in our common cause. Russia needs tanks and planes, Russia needs food and strategic materials, Russia needs help and encouragement—but, above all, Russia needs friendship and understanding."

Davies took to task those who seek to raise a religious issue against the Soviet Union. Particularly impressive was Davies' vindication, based on his personal knowledge of the USSR, of much in Soviet policy that has been distorted and vilified in recent years. "Neither Stalin nor his lieutenants wished this war," he said. "They did not begin it. They did not declare it. They made every possible effort to avoid it. They tried again and again to get the democracies of Europe to unite for military defense of their own 'collective security.'"

A call for all-out Soviet aid and for united action against Hitler was also made by Lord Halifax, British ambassador, whose speech was repeatedly interrupted with cries for the opening of a western front. Other speakers included Andrei A. Gromyko, Soviet charge d'affaires; Genevieve Tabouis; Clark M. Eichelberger, national chairman of the Committee to Defend America.

Highly stirring was the participation of noted figures of stage, screen, radio, and literature who addressed personal messages to their colleagues in the Soviet Union.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ODDS AND ENDS

Samuel Sillen takes advantage of a lull in the publishing season. London's renewed interest in the Russian novel. Some sidelights on the Dies mentality in literary criticism.

POSTPONEMENT of several major books creates an unexpected vacuum in the life of a reviewer this week. Last minute changes in publishers' schedules have solved one problem and created another. For a time it looked as though this department were going to be embarrassed with riches. Richard Wright's *Twelve Million Black Voices,* William Blake's *The Copperheads,* Egon Erwin Kisch's *Sensation Fair,* Alvah Bessie's *Bread and a Stone*—a literary festival. And all snatched out of October, thrust tantalizingly somewhere into November. The crowded table is suddenly bare.

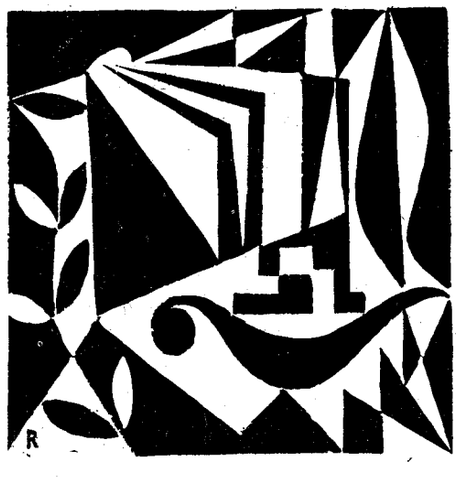
Time, at any rate, to catch up on odds and ends. Time, for instance, to read the society page of the New York *Times* to see how the other half of one percent manages to pull through. But lo and behold! The society notes contain the best literary intelligence in many a moon. The results of the third quarterly critics' poll conducted by *Harper's Magazine* are sandwiched between the annual Hope Farm Christmas sale and tea at the Pierre and the $25,000 auction of the Hangar Club's furnishings at the Parke-Bernet Galleries. And the winner of the *Harper* poll on the outstanding novel published from July through September: the second volume of Mikhail Sholokhov's *The Silent Don.* Good enough. The critics polled include writers on twenty newspapers from Galveston to Salt Lake City, from Providence to Omaha; and their decision confirms the report on the response of smaller-city newspapers made several weeks ago in these pages. A just tribute to the brilliant young Soviet writer.

UNEXPECTED LEISURE to leaf through the last eight or ten issues of the London *Times Literary Supplement.* Valuable for English book news, the *Times Supplement* is ordinarily a little on the stuffy side. Its anonymous reviews are very often dignified autopsies. But the excitement and challenge of the war have broken through. One is impressed by the number of anti-Nazi books published recently, and the changed treatment of these books is even more striking. "It is a bitter thought," writes one reviewer, "that only just more than two years ago there were apologists of a sort in this country as elsewhere for the concentration camps in Germany." He is discussing *By Order of the Gestapo,* a record of life in Dachau and Buchenwald concentration camps by a pseudonymous Austrian. Commenting on the maniacal cruelties of these torture chambers, the reviewer recalls that not so long ago some Englishmen were saying that conditions in the camps could scarcely be as methodically inhuman as they were said to be. And he might have cited the London *Times* literary section as an example of such incredulity in the past.

But one notes too an alarming tendency of some books to take the Sir Robert Vansittart line that the German people have always been "barbarous and aggressive," that "from the democratic point of view Hitler is the most legitimate ruler Germany has ever had." Thus, *Europe and the German Question,* by F. W. Foerster, and an anthology called *Thus Spake Germany* emphasize Vansittart's phrase about "The Beast in German Man" in his recent poem "To Youth." This racist approach to history, Hitler's race-war in reverse, only obscures the real issues in the fight against Hitlerism.

If notable fiction or poetry is being produced in England today, it is not reflected in the *Times* reviews. There seems to be no evidence that the war has so far produced anything like a re-invigoration of English letters. At the same time one does see a heartening concern with Russian history and culture. The publishing trade, it is noted, reports an increasing demand for translations of Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, Gogol; and one suspects that the same is true of contemporary Russian novels. A special article by Sir Bernard Pares ("Links with Russia: Points of Cultural Kinship") develops the view that "Study, without question—study on our side—is the first of all requirements if we wish to make the best use of our present alliances with Russia for the creation of cultural ties." And an alert, scholarly correspondent complains a week or two later that Sir Bernard failed to include Milton's "History of Muscovia" in his lengthy survey.

BACK HOME, reluctantly, to the correspondence columns of the *Saturday Review of Literature* where a gang of dirt slingers are splattering Bernard Smith's recent collection of American writings, *The Democratic Spirit.* Someone should take time off one of these days to do a study of the *Saturday Review.* It will be revealing if not always pleasant research. For that publication has in recent months departed even from the pretense of solid literary standards. Turning Sholokhov's novel over to Manya Gordon for political sniping was only one in a chain of episodes leading to the wretched treatment of the Smith anthology. The *Saturday Review* appears determined to convert at least some of its pages into a forum for Red-baiters.



The tory review of Smith's book by James Truslow Adams was bad enough; but the lurid letters in support of that review have been altogether disgusting. One smear was written by Eugene Lyons, who gets more boring and vicious by the hour; another by a professional fingerman who, according to the New York *Times,* is employed as a "research" worker for so many dollars a day by the Coudert committee. One would think that the editors would at least check on matters of fact. Altogether irrelevantly, one writer in condemning Smith points out that Michael Gold's *The Hollow Men* has been withdrawn from circulation by International Publishers; a telephone call would have produced the truth that this book is selling as briskly as ever in progressive bookshops. One "telling blow" against Smith was that he had given Lincoln only six pages in his anthology, whereas if Mr. Adams had been calm enough to count correctly he would have found sixteen.

Bernard Smith's answer to Adams is too long to quote in full; but the following passage bears repeating because it is such a clear and emphatic statement of the case against literary reaction:

"There remains the most important question: was Mr. Adams justified in attacking the inclusion of such indubitably radical authors as Caldwell, Gold, Maltz, Zugsmith, and Wright? The basis of his attack was the fact of their inclusion, not the nature of the material included. In other words, he hated some nine or ten names—but he had nothing to say about the actual writings that appear in my anthology. Since the volume is intended to be a collection of writings and not a passport to Mr. Adams' heaven, I feel justified in asking the reader to examine the works rather than Mr. Adams' index of sinners. . . . Perhaps Mr. Adams thinks that an anthology of literature purporting to ex-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KEYNOTE RECORDINGS

proudly announces

RICHARD DYER-BENNET

Lute Singer

in a program of American, Australian and old English folk songs

3—10″ records in decorative album

$2.75

Available at all record shops

For further information write to

KEYNOTE RECORDINGS, Inc.

71 W. 45th St., N. Y. LO 3-3635

LOSE POUNDS AND INCHES

JOIN A GYM

Goodwin's Offers Exercise Courses as Low as $10 Monthly

COMPLETE TRIAL VISIT $2.00

Includes Swedish Massage and Vapor Baths

POSTURE CORRECTION WOMEN ONLY
SPECIAL AFTER-CHILDBIRTH EXERCISES
ON THE ROOF

GOODWIN'S GYMNASIUM

1457 Broadway at 42nd Street, N. Y. C.

WIsconsin 7-8250

"DON'T PUT IT OFF — TAKE IT OFF!"

The Fieldstone

ON ROUND ISLAND LAKE
MONROE, N. Y.

A place of unexcelled beauty for rest and relaxation. One hour from New York.

All Sports — Open All Year

WEEK END OF NOV. 8 — BENEFIT RUSSIAN WAR RELIEF.

Phone Monroe 7965

Next Week

SPECIAL ISSUE

New Masses

24th ANNIVERSARY

USSR

press the democratic spirit would be complete without selections expressing some bitterness about the conditions that create sharecroppers, ghettos, and slums. That, I believe, is the crux of the matter. Mr. Adams does indeed think that way about it. . . . They [these selections] have precisely the same validity as my selections from Melville, Parker, Garrison, Whittier, or Howells."

The attacks on the Smith anthology have larger implications than are raised by the one book. In effect the hostile critics are complaining against Harper & Bros. for printing Richard Wright, against Little, Brown & Co. for printing Albert Maltz, against Random House for printing Leane Zugsmith, against Duell, Sloan & Pearce for printing Erskine Caldwell. The Coudert and Dies mentality is as eager to purge publishing houses as it is to purge schools.

And this is a fact which the publishers increasingly recognize. A few weeks ago the leading publishers issued a strong statement in connection with the Oklahoma book trials. If a bookseller in Oklahoma is to be convicted of "criminal syndicalism" for displaying Sandburg's *Lincoln* or a work by Karl Marx, then the publisher is potentially liable too. The author, seller, reader, and publisher of a progressive work have the same stake in freedom. If a publisher is at times tempted to retrench on "radical" books in order to avoid witch hunts—whether by the Talmadges in politics or the Lyons' in reviewing—he might reflect that the appeasement-of-fascism program has invariably led to disastrous results in literature no less than in world politics.

SAMUEL SILLEN.

Fragmentary Notation

BETWEEN THE ACTS, *by Virginia Woolf. Harcourt, Brace & Co. $2.50.*

WHEN Virginia Woolf committed suicide, last May, she left behind this curiously absent-minded piece of writing. As a literary work, *Between the Acts* is not of much account. Inserted into a thin folder of plot—a pageant day in an English village, some moment before the outbreak of war—is a chronicle of England, the pageant itself, written by a local lady named La Trobe. On an ordinary enough day, like the famous day of *Mrs. Dalloway,* an English family and a few friends settle down condescendingly to the spectacle of their nation's history. Their actions are few—merely encounters, brief gestures. In slow motion this minute reality passes beneath a hail of psychological images—the familiar stream-of-consciousness technique.

It is not unfair to suggest that this rough sketch, so lacking in the symmetry and grace of *To the Lighthouse,* for instance, is the logical outcome of all of Virginia Woolf's writing. It has always been apparent that her delicate sensibility, so discriminating in the immediate sensations of artists, scholars, ladies of quality, was not capable of perceiving social truth. This little book is a register of her final confusion in its fragmentary notation of the disorders of Europe, the threat of air attack, the menace of headlines. Facing these are only old Mr. Oliver, retired Anglo-Indian; Mrs. Swithin, his gentle religious sister; Giles, his hirsute son, a businessman; Isa, the romantic daughter-in-law; William Dodge, a poet; Mrs. Manresa, a jolly middle-aged vamp—all "safe" and upper class and useless. "Look at ourselves, ladies and gentlemen," says the pageant megaphone when it reaches "present time," "and ask how this wall, the great wall we perhaps miscall civilization is to be built by orts, scraps, and fragments like ourselves." In 1938 in *Three Guineas* Virginia Woolf found herself unable to answer the question: "How in your opinion are we to prevent war?" And to "orts, scraps, and fragments" Mrs. Woolf had long surrendered herself.

Behind the brilliant stylistic experimentalism, the psychological richness of her earlier books, there was a formula of enthusiastic surrender to a world of individual intuition. Mrs. Woolf was fascinated by the instabilities and inconsistencies of life and of human beings. For the old-fashioned form of motive and action, the unsatisfactory realism of Galsworthy and Bennett, she substituted an overall pattern of imagery. Like the symbol of Big Ben that strikes the hours through the pages of *Mrs. Dalloway,* this served not to integrate the elements of life, but to set them in a timeless flux. Thus her characters seldom develop.

Jacob's Room, the first novel in the new technique, was remarkable in that its principal subject never seemed to progress, although we caught glimpses of him from his birth to his death in the war. Her very first novel, *The Voyage Out,* which is in many ways conventional, shows more growth of character. But Rachel, the awakened sleeper, the young girl who becomes a questioning, intelligent woman, dies suddenly of fever in a South American hotel. This stifling of development is characteristic of every subsequent book and accounts for the frequent use of death as a conclusion.

What did Mrs. Woolf offer to do with those "orts and fragments," variegated and often beautiful, that hang together in her books by a unity of mood? She avoided the obvious mistakes of the bourgeois novelists. "Is life like this?" she asked, and it was an honest question, for she knew that none of the traditional answers would serve any longer. But the illusion of complete objectivity was as false for her as for Joyce. And being an aristocrat, member of a reigning intellectual family for generations, her field of vision was narrower than Joyce's. She went "to seek among phrases and fragments something unbroken." Her dependence on the organization of sheer style, her abdication from humanity, is nothing more than the aristocratic code itself. For Mrs. Woolf the problem of style became, like the problem of manners, a way of retrieving unpleasantness, perhaps with grace. In the end even this became impossible.

MILLICENT LANG.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Brief Reviews

THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND THE GROWTH OF WESTERN HEMISPHERE SOLIDARITY, *by Richard K. Showman and Lyman S. Judson. The Reference Shelf, Vol. 14, No. 7. H. W. Wilson & Co. $1.25.*

This is among the most recent of a reference shelf series on timely topics. It is a collection of articles, memoranda, statistical tables, and occasional news stories which explain the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine, its place in our foreign policy, and its contemporary significance in the face of Hitler's avowed well known intentions and plans for dominating the South American part of the hemisphere. It is frankly a *collection* of material and makes no pretense at anything more than a rough integration. In this case the integration is so rough that the volume will be useful only to the most patient reader, the specialist in the field. And unfortunately the most patient reader is usually the specialist, who has access to more comprehensive sources.

"FIGHTIN' JOE" WHEELER, *by John P. Dyer. Louisiana State University Press. $3.*

The active career of Joseph Wheeler stretched from Buchanan to Theodore Roosevelt, and centered, with one exception, around military affairs. He served as a general in the Confederate Army, in the Spanish-American War, and in the repression of the Filipino insurrection. Thus his sword was consistently wielded in behalf of reactionary causes as befitted his class position of southern planter. His talents were at the service of the same class in his one period of political rather than military labors, when he appeared as an Alabama congressman from 1882-98. This was a crucial time for both urban and rural exploiters. Wheeler's particular job was to assist the latter by curbing the organized wrath of the dispossessed farmers expressing itself through the Populist movement. Mr. Dyer's account of the method by which Wheeler did this is the single oasis in an otherwise dull book.

I'LL NEVER GO THERE ANY MORE, *by Jerome Weidman. Simon & Schuster. $2.50.*

A punk from Albany comes into the big town (New York) on his vacation and runs into a gang of sleazy characters, an ex-criminal lawyer and petty racketeer, a madam, a dried-up old CPA, and a goodhearted businessman who gets a run around from a prostitute and then goes haywire. Now you'd think this guy from upstate'd get the works and a nice little ride back where he came from. But you're wrong. He ain't so wet behind the ears. He's on his vacation, and by the time he's through he sees all, hears all, knows all but keeps his trap open so the gags fly thick. He's an all-around combination of Fred Allen, Pinkerton, and father confessor. But when a murder breaks (climax), the milk-fed calf takes it on the lam back to his cow pasture, the heel. So what? So New York is a wicked city. Don't ever go there any more, especially for your vacation.

Celebrate
the 24th Anniversary of
the October Revolution
— at the —
FINAL RALLY
— of the —
New York City Election Campaign
Committee, Communist Party

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

SUNDAY
November 2,
at 1:15 P. M.

Hear:

- Wm. Z. Foster
- Robert Minor
- Israel Amter
- James W. Ford
- Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
- Isidore Begun
- John Gates

AND

the American People's Chorus
Singing SMASH HITLER Songs—
V-for-Victory Music from Lands Fighting Hitler

Sponsored by the N. Y. City Election Campaign Committee
Communist Party

TICKETS NOW ON SALE
22c - 44c - 55c - 83c

V V V V V V V V

"A HONEY OF A SHOW"
—Walter Winchell
MY SISTER EILEEN
The Riotous Laugh Hit
BILTMORE THEATRE
47th St. West of B'way. CI 6-9353
Evgs. 8:40. Mats. Wed. & Sat., 2:40

THE FRENCH FILM TRIUMPH
PEPE LE MOKO
and the great English mystery
NIGHT TRAIN
Also Latest Soviet War News. Cont. from 10:30 A.M. till Midnight—15c to 2 P.M., 20c to 6 P.M. weekdays
IRVING PLACE THEATRE—Irving Place at 14th St.
Benefit Block Tickets at Reduced Prices GR 5-4049

Follow New Masses for Movies & Theatres

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GROPPER VERSUS THE AXIS

His new show expresses his tireless contempt for fascism. Cartoons that are seen and "heard" around the world. . . . Quentin Reynolds' superb documentary film on the Soviet Union.

LEWIS MUMFORD once made a remarkable statement about William Gropper: "One part of Gropper I admire: the other part I detest. If he were as dead as Cezanne, his political opinions would not make any difference to me, any more than Cezanne's belief in Catholicism does today."

Mr. Mumford's anguished struggle to separate form from content appears fruitless in the face of such a Gropper show as is now being seen at the ACA Gallery in New York. Here is a selection of political cartoons of the last eight years, exhibited to help the rescue of "anti-Axis refugees for the decisive battle against Hitlerism." It is these cartoons that the critic finds so objectionable in an otherwise masterful painter. The same maledictions were heaped on Daumier, and one can still find aging bohemians who waggle their heads sadly and say that an artist should be seen and not heard.

Gropper is heard around the world. His anti-fascist cartoons are printed in Chinese or South African labor papers by editors who know nothing about Bill Gropper of Croton, but who regard his cartoons as a common property of humanity, a kind of folk essence which came from nowhere and everywhere.

The cartoons might make a proper political handbook called *Munich and Anti-Munich*. Here is Mr. Chamberlain's umbrella in fair weather and foul, Hitler's cannon-barrel teeth opened to devour the world, and an acute symbolism (No. 79) in which the Trojan horse of the American appeasers is depicted as a gaunt skeleton. Inside the ribs Hitler's American agents uneasily drop their propaganda.

At the time Mr. Mumford was calling Gropper "an ally of those barbaric forces that I believe are destructive to everything that Gropper the artist stands for," Gropper drew for this magazine his famous cartoon (No. 66) of Hitler cringing against the map of eastern Europe as the mighty shadow of a Red Army soldier towers over him. That was the true meaning of the non-aggression pact, drawn at the moment when Mr. Mumford had deluded himself into thinking the pact meant an alliance.

Three years ago Gropper hammered on the idea of an alliance of Britain, the United States, and Soviet Russia; three years later the democratic world sees the point, after having its nose rubbed in it by history.

The sheer virtuosity of Gropper as a craftsman is bountifully evident in these cartoons. He brings off a cartoon with confident ease; there is less friction between the visualization and the skill of the hand than in any other living artist. The cartoonist is a fertile visualizer, and he sails into the execution with the artless joy of nursery-child fingerpainting. Everything in his busy studio may be needed in the attack. He takes his ink-filled toothbrush and the table knife which spatters the ink, and sprays through a paper doily to make the pattern of a skirt, or he empties his pockets, the bathroom medicine chest, and the sewing cabinet onto the paper and spatters around razor blades, screws, paper clips, dimes, torn envelopes, to make a phantasmagorial set for Mr. Chamberlain. He presses on with everything in the taboret—Chinese white, crayon, pen, brush, and knife. Despite his headlong pace and the prodigious number of jobs of work he turns out every week, Gropper is always the experimentalist.

Sometimes he makes unsuccessful forays in style, when he goes slightly surrealist, or composes a Bosch monster, and invention in this remarkable man sometimes flags. But there never was a no-hit pitcher who didn't miss the plate once in a while. Consider the fact that he draws at least a half dozen political cartoons every week, in addition to his lithographs, murals, and easel painting. (Art, Mr. Mumford.)

Gropper's tireless contempt for Hitler and fascism is the subject of this show of cartoons. In the decent future Gropper may be responsible for preserving the face of this monster long after the world has conveniently forgotten him. Louis Philippe exists principally as a character in Daumier's lampoons, and who would give a passing thought to Charles IV of Spain if Goya had not painted him?

JAMES DUGAN.

Reynolds on Russia

A camera tour through the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

"ONE DAY IN SOVIET RUSSIA," at the Stanley Theater in New York, is one of the finest documentary films to have come out of any country. Compiled by ninety-seven cameramen who penetrated every corner of the vast Union of Soviet Republics before the Nazi invasion, the film contains much that has been seen before, but in treatment and integration the material appears in a new light. Quentin Reynolds, war correspondent for *Collier's* and the official press attache at the recent three-power conference in Moscow, acts as narrator. His is a superb commentary. And it is his description of the scenes that follow as well as the excellent photography that make this film the satisfying experience that it is. Mr. Reynolds introduces the film by saying: "This picture shows what the Russians are really like. It tells the truth about Russian common life; the Russians are our own kind of people."

Gropper

From that point, every phase of daily existence, in all its rich and teeming variety of interest and activity, bursts full upon the audience. From the littoral of Vladivostok, on Golden Horn Bay, to the Baltic provinces, 5,500 miles to the west, the common impulse of building the new world infuses the interests of all the people.

The lighthouse at the tip of the Maritime Provinces is just beginning to extinguish its light at dawn, while the people of Moscow prepare for an evening's relaxation. The stars atop the Kremlin signal the beginning of night as 25,000 Moscow citizens gather in the Park of Culture and Rest and dance to the strains of American jazz.

There are other shots of Moscow. The workers are shown pouring in from the suburbs, on their way to work in steel, textile, shoes, the shops, restaurants, offices. Mikhail Sholokhov is caught by the camera, breasting his way through the morning crowds, modest and unnoticed as the most obscure worker. A championship tennis match at the huge Dynamo Stadium is in progress. Thousands of workers, wearing newspaper hats to ward off the sun, invoke the inevitable comparison of a Forest Hills match with its handful of formal spectators.

The juxtaposition of detail upon detail is adroitly accomplished. A sixty-four passenger plane takes off from Moscow, bound for a sanitarium in the Caucasus. The plane makes its way over the Kozbeck Mountains where the Soviet weather forecasters maintain a station. The Soviet weathermen are shown at work. The passengers of the plane join the others at the beaches on the Black Sea. One bather is shown in closeup reading a book by Papanin, the Arctic explorer. The scene dissolves to a shot of Papanin in long distance telephone communication with Wrangel Island. Follows a shot of Wrangel Island, where a party of scientific observers are recording data of temperature and climate.

And so it goes through a complete gamut

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of daily work. There are fascinating glimpses of walrus-hunting in the Bering Sea, but seventeen miles from our own country, mineralogists at work in the extinct volcanoes of Kamchatka, families in the far northern reaches of Siberia traveling in reindeer-drawn sleds, the giant steel plants of Magnitogorsk in the Urals, planes of the Soviet aviation medical corps bringing aid to out of the way hamlets.

And finally there are action shots of the Red Army at maneuvers, guarding the ten frontiers of this brave new world. It is easy to see why, from the zest and energy and happiness of its people, the madmen from the Wilhelmstrasse will never conquer. *One Day in Soviet Russia* is photographed excellently throughout and it has a fine musical score by Daniel Pokrass. The film is said to have run for nine weeks in London, and broken all house records. It should do equally well in New York.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

Other Movies

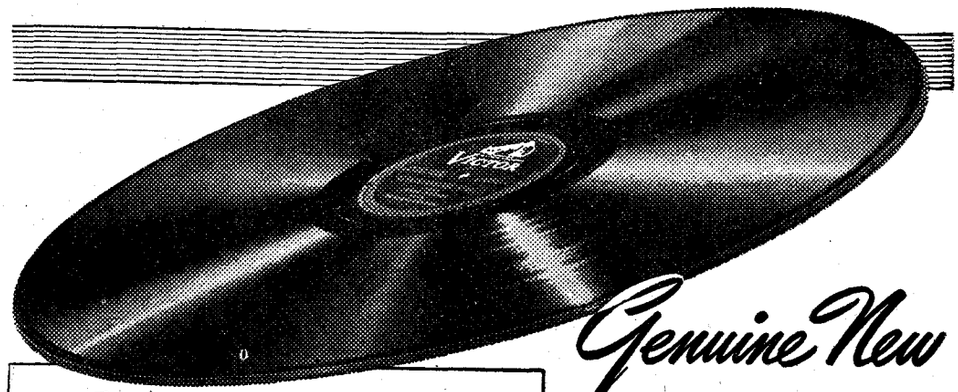
"DUMBO" is the most delightful Disney so far; no golden-voiced princes, no sweet little centaurettes. In place of them there is a circus full of animals, all with personality, all of remarkable and interesting shape. In the background we have the gossipy sewing circle of lady elephants, who frequently forget they're ladies; the law-abiding gorilla who repairs the broken bars of his cage; the demure giraffe, the smiling tiger, the submerged hippopotamus, and the unforgettable hyena who laughs in her sleep.

But the foreground—ah! the foreground! A Western Union stork, a minstrel show of crows, a tough and stalwart mouse (Mickey's big brudder?) and Dumbo himself, a blue-eyed elephant baby who can fly. Why should I tell you any more and spoil the fun? A reviewer's duty, however, compels me to mention the color and draftsmanship, better than ever; the gay tunes and the general atmosphere of affectionate gaiety. Also there is the parade of pink elephants. So you think YOU'VE seen pink elephants? Hah. Precision requires me to add that they are not all strictly pink; how about the neat little number in a rather surprising plaid? And the camelephant . . . all right, you find a name for him. . . .

IT SEEMS the devil joined America First . . . sorry, that should be a small f. What we mean is that Satan got here when some early settlers started cheating Indians, and has been busy ever since buying souls with doubtful gold. Those who listen to him refuse to join unions, fleece their fellow workers, get rich by foreclosing mortgages, and end up among the damned with Benedict Arnold. *All That Money Can Buy,* the film version of Stephen Vincent Benet's *The Devil and Daniel Webster,* makes a lively tale out of it, with a real devil in the person of Walter Huston bearing crooked contracts.

As originally written, the story was magnificent; the film is hardly less so. It is a New

THE MUSIC ROOM is donating 20% to the RUSSIAN WAR RELIEF from all sales of Prokofieff and Shostakovich Victor Recordings.



Genuine New

VICTOR
RED SEAL
RECORDS

★ NOT "SECONDS"!
★ NOT RE-ISSUES!
★ NOT OLD STOCK!

TWO FOR THE PRICE OF ONE!

THIS IS WHAT YOU GET

"WHEN I WAS A LAD" From Gilbert and Sullivan's famous operetta, "H. M. S. Pinafore" and "THERE IS NO DEATH" Sung by JOHN CHARLES **THOMAS** Two stirring selections by one of America's finest voices. No. 18223

Buy Either One For **$1.00**

Get The Other One **FREE**

"O PATRIA MIA" Sung by ROSE **BAMPTON** famous American star of the Metropolitan Opera and "CÉLESTE AÏDA" Sung by BENIAMINO **GIGLI** Two beautiful arias from Verdi's great opera, Aïda. No. 18221

COMING TWO-FOR-ONE OFFER!

"HUNGARIAN RHAPSODY No. 2" by Franz Liszt, played by JESUS MARIA SANROMA, famous Pianist No. 13831

'HUMORESQUE' by Anton Dvořák and "THE ROSARY" by Ethelbert Nevin, played by WILLIAM PRIMROSE, famous Violist. No. 18222

This offer begins shortly. Make your reservations now.

RCA

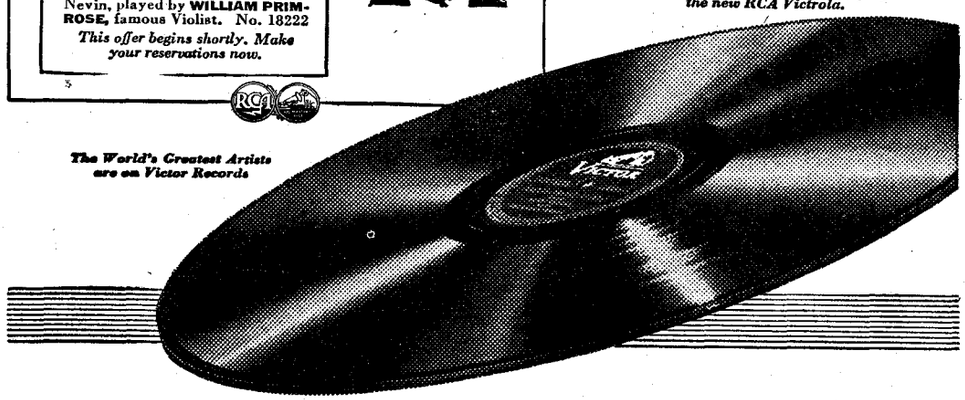
The World's Greatest Artists are on Victor Records

They are brand new 12" Victor Red Seal Records you'll be proud to own

Here's your big chance to discover the thrilling music in the famous Victor Record Catalog—at an important saving! When this sensational offer expires, these records will go into the Catalog, at regular list prices. Better hurry and get yours now!

This offer for a limited time only. Make the most of your golden opportunity while it lasts. Come in today!

To hear Victor Records at their best, play them on the new RCA Victrola.



THE MUSIC ROOM

133 West 44th Street, N. Y. C. **LO 3-4420**

UNION SHOP

open evenings ***mail orders promptly delivered***

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOTEL HARMONY
We are open for the winter season
Make Early Thanksgiving Reservations
505 Forrest Ave., Lakewood, New Jersey
Yudis Gross Anna Broude
Tel. Lakewood 450, 936

TRIPLE LAKE RANCH
WESTERN SPIRIT AND ROMANCE AT YOUR DOORSTEP
All Year INFORMAL RENDEZVOUS
37 MILES FROM N. Y. C. Route 10
RIDING, Instruction, GOLF.
ALL SPORTS. Private Lakes.
Rifle Range. Altitude 1000 Ft.
Home Comforts. Excellent Food.
LOW RATE covers everything.
N. Y. Tel. TR. 5-2163. Booklet S
SUCCASUNNA, N. J. ANNE BARASH MGR

HOTEL ROYALE
MADISON AVENUE AND 6th STREET
LAKEWOOD, N. J.
All Play—No Toil Means Vacation at THE ROYALE
Free Bicycling — Ping Pong — Boating — Entertainment
We Cater to Diets — Thrifty Rates.
SONIA GELBAUM, Prop.
SADIE DOROSHKIN, connected with Hotel Royale
Telephone — Lakewood 1146 - 978

CAMP BEACON Beacon 731
BEACON, N. Y.
BOATING & ALL SPORTS
Transportation
Phone Ol 5-8639
$19 per week
$3.50 per day

MAMANASCO LAKE LODGE
RIDGEFIELD, CONN. PHONE: 230
A luxurious country estate converted into a vacation paradise. 1½ mile lake—fishing, boating, swimming. Excellent clay tennis court, riding, golf, ping pong, free bicycles. Fine library. Musical recordings. Sumptuous cuisine. 50 miles from New York.
OPEN ALL YEAR

FUN FOR THANKSGIVING
Kiss your work good-bye and come to Plum Point. 70 acres of beautiful lawns and woodlands...delicious food...outdoor and indoor sports . . . *Jewish-American Cuisine.* Ideal resort near N.Y.C. for year-round vacations and week-ends
PLUM POINT
ATTRACTIVE RATES New Windsor, N.Y.
FREE BOOKLET Newburgh 4270

Birdland CENTRAL VALLEY N. Y.
Formerly Lewisohn's Estate—Open All Year
One hour from N. Y. 225 acres of fascinating hiking country. Sports; fast tennis courts, handball, bicycling, golf, horseback. Indoors: Ping Pong, games, recordings, library, dancing, exceptional company, open fireplaces, excellent cuisine. Every comfort. Incomparable surroundings.
(Tel. Highland Mills 7895) Your Hostess: Fannie Goldberg

A REAL CHRISTMAS PRESENT
We're reopening for the Christmas holidays. Sparkling, invigorating days, fun, relaxation . . . 10 outdoor activities, 15 indoors . . . a festive table heaped with tantalizing eatables. It's Chesters' Xmas present to you—so, hurry your reservations! *Our complete inimitable Entertainment Staff.*
WRITE FOR RATES, FULL INFORMATION.
A DELIGHTFUL HIDEAWAY IN THE MOUNTAINS
CHESTERS ZUNBARG
WOODBOURNE, N.Y. Tel. WOODBOURNE 1150

Hampshire fantasy of how Jabez Stone sold his soul and Daniel Webster got it back for him, and as such it is sometimes amusing, sometimes terrifying, and always persuasive. But it is more than an American fairytale; it is an eloquent defense of democracy. The farmers of Webster's New Hampshire defend themselves against loan sharks by joining the Granger movement, and it is significant that Stone's first devil-inspired act is his rejection of the organization. Thereafter he changes rapidly from a hard-working farmer to a fox-hunting, ill-tempered squire.

When his time is up the people rise against him and the devil comes for his soul. At this point Daniel Webster steps in to defend the repentant Jabez against a jury of the damned. The devil's power is broken by an assertion of social responsibility and of the honor and dignity of man, the devil's gifts vanish in a conflagration, and Jabez joins the Grangers in a devil of a hurry.

Tremendous skill and wit were needed to keep this story from being the flattest of allegories. Both author and director, fortunately, had what it takes. Except for its pointless change of title, the film is faithful in spirit to Benet's original; the salty American prose had been translated into an equally salty and forthright camera style. There are moments of extraordinary poetry in the manipulation of that camera, shots of the seasons going over a farm which give the feel of the earth as only Soviet films have done hitherto. The blurred features of the damned souls are more conventionally handled; but no one is likely to forget the windy sighing of their laughter.

Where the film fails, unfortunately, is in the characterization of Webster. Edward Arnold is genial and impressive as usual, rising to momentary heights in the trial speech, but the intensity one expects of Webster is somehow lacking. This is probably not Arnold's fault; it is hard to think of an actor who could portray the almost legendary figure of Black Daniel. Casting Paul Bunyan would present a similar problem. The more ordinary human characters of the film, at any rate, are vigorously acted by Jane Darwell, James Craig, Anne Shirley, and John Qualen, who is superb as the local miser. And the devils are inspired. Simone Simon, who used to be just a coy little thing, gets a horrible diabolic and feline silkiness into her portrayal of a nurserymaid from hell. As for Walter Huston's Mr. Scratch, it cannot be praised too highly. He is at once loathsome and engaging; he makes your flesh creep and he makes you giggle. The closeup of him in the film's brilliant conclusion will follow you home and sit leering on your bedpost at night.

AT LONG LAST we have a film about an air force that introduces no blondes. *Target for Tonight* is strictly documentary; its actors are members of the British air force. Without romantic trimmings, a group of men take you through a bombing raid, from its inception in headquarters to the final safe return of the disabled bomber. Actual British photographs were used, we are told, and it is difficult to see how the film could be anything but the real stuff.

The beauty and clarity of its photography are incidental; the importance of *Target for Tonight* lies in its illumination of the problems of modern war. To many people these shots of deadly machinery in action are far more absorbing, today, than the prettiest profile some Hollywood producers can offer, and Warner's was wise in not decorating its material. The war is presented, as *The Mannerheim Line* presented it, as a job to be done. The Nazis have an oil dump at a specified point; it must be blown up. It is blown up.

The Royal Air Force makes a good showing in these pictures. The only thing to mar the film is the difficulty experienced by an American audience in understanding the innumerable varieties of English which the English speak; almost half the dialogue is hopelessly lost.

JOY DAVIDMAN.

Anderson's New Play

A love story with an anti-Hitler background.

IN HIS new play *Candle in the Wind* Maxwell Anderson has written a love drama against a background of the Nazi occupation of France. It was his commendable purpose to speak his piece against the Nazi monsters; to rouse America. And in the expository sections of his play Mr. Anderson pulls few punches. The final curtain rings down on a denunciation of Nazism delivered by one of his swastika-crossed lovers. "In the history of the world," the heroine says to the Nazi Colonel Erfurt, "there have been many wars between beasts and men, and the beasts have always lost and men have always won."

It is a pity that Mr. Anderson could not have clothed his anti-Nazi ideas in the flesh of living human beings. Dropping the post-Shakespearian blank verse he has generally affected, the playwright tells a tale in prose. He tells the story of Madeline Guest, wealthy American actress, and her desperate battle to release her French lover from the custody of the Gestapo in occupied France. It is more a wordy battle than a flesh-and-blood conflict, for both the actress and the Gestapo agents engage in long speeches rather than in action. These speeches are, however, useful. To a certain extent they set forth the irreconcilable struggle between Nazi "ideology" and American democratic aspirations. They repeat the lesson that there can be no peace for humanity until the Nazi "ideology" is destroyed together with its creators.

Mr. Anderson has created a stock situation that has served innumerable dramatists better—the woman in love who pits her strength against the mighty impersonal forces that hold her love in chains. (The moving pictures, for example, have done this sort of thing better many times.) And Mr. Ander-

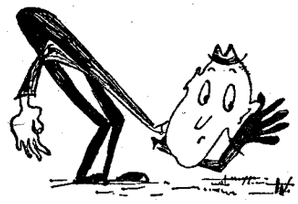
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

son has created a set of stock characters who bear little relation to human beings as they move upon the stage of living history. His Nazis are latter-day Prussian "Huns"—the conventional villains some of us remember from the movies of World War days. His heroine is a brave speaker who tilts her chin at the Nazis and denounces them courageously, tells them where to get off. His hero is practically non-existent. He introduces, for obvious symbolical effect, two ancient American schoolteachers, who are more concerned with recreating in their minds the times of Marie Antoinette than they are affected by the present day. He speaks of "enchanted" corners of the Versailles gardens where, if you wish long enough, your lover will appear. He drops his interminable dialogues only long enough to engage in frank and oversimplified melodrama—the melodrama of impending escape: Will he make it, or won't he make it? Will the villain catch on, or won't the villain catch on? Yet the melodrama itself fails, somehow, to supply the excitement the long prose stretches also lack.

The characters are not realized because the situation is not projected; because the action of the play is static, when it does not crawl lethargically from point to point. Certainly it is true that one of the best ways to project world forces and causes is to present them in terms of single individuals—in fact, it might be argued that this is the *only* way to project those forces and causes. Yet in *Candle in the Wind,* as a direct result of Mr. Anderson's failure to make human the people he presents upon the stage, his argument loses a good deal of its force.

Mr. Anderson is a romantic who finds his greatest satisfaction in mystical elaborations of the struggle of the human soul to find its way in the darkness of the world. Here he has attempted a realistic play, and has not succeeded. His real struggle is not against the hideous reactionary forces of Nazi-fascism, but with the impossibility of lovers to love. In his play about Spain, *Key Largo,* he was less concerned with the issues involved in that struggle than he was with the conscience of a man who deserted the cause—certainly a valid theme whose validity, however, was ruined by the confusion Mr. Anderson revealed over the nature of the cause from which his hero had deserted. In *Winterset,* a frankly romantic and semi-mystical play, he was less concerned with the crime inherent in a horrible miscarriage of justice than he was with the soul torment of a judge who had been instrumental in causing that miscarriage. And he was more successful there, because in terms of actual *character,* his judge corresponded more to what we know of human beings than his deserter did in *Key Largo.* In *Candle in the Wind* Mr. Anderson is again beyond his depth as a dramatist, if not as a sensitive man who deeply desires the rule of freedom and democracy.

In the leading role Helen Hayes applies her usual earnestness to the unwritten character of Madeline Guest. She does the best



NEW MASSES PRESENTS

"INTERPRETATION PLEASE!"

(No. 4)

on

The World Front—Today and Tomorrow

Panel of Experts

MIKE QUIN

MIKE GOLD

WILLIAM BLAKE

JAMES DUGAN

JOSEPH STAROBIN

BRUCE MINTON

Thurs., Oct. 30th
8:00 p.m.

Webster Hall
119 E. 11th St.

Admission 55c (incl. tax). Reserved section for those buying tickets in advance at NEW MASSES, 461 Fourth Ave.; the Workers Bookshop, 50 E. 13th St., and the Bookfair, 133 W. 44th St.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STAR-PACKED ENTERTAINMENT!

MARC BLITZSTEIN
MORDECAI BAUMAN
BOOGIE-WOOGIE PIANISTS
SYLVIA CHEN
MADY CHRISTIANS
NORMAN CORWIN
BURL IVES
GOLDEN GATE QUARTET
ELIA KAZAN
FRED KEATING
GEORGE KLEINSINGER
PAULINE KONER
RAY LEV
ELSA MAXWELL
LIU LIANG MO
LUISE RAINER
EARL ROBINSON
THELMA SCHNEE
HAZEL SCOTT
LIONEL STANDER
PAUL VILLARD
JOSHUA WHITE
AND MANY OTHERS

TOWN HALL
113 W. 43
SAT. NOV. 8th
8:45 p.m.
Tickets 83c to $3.30

STARS FOR CHINA TODAY
— auspices —
AMERICAN FRIENDS of the CHINESE PEOPLE
168 WEST 23rd ST. CHELSEA 3-7674

New Masses Readers — **YOU HAVE A DATE** — *Celebrate with the*

JOINT BOARD FUR DRESSERS & DYERS UNIONS

4th ANNIVERSARY **Sat., Nov. 1—8 P.M.**

Royal Windsor, 69 West 66th St., N. Y. C.

Dance to the tunes of Sonny Dunham's NBC and Meadowbrook Band also Van Alexander's Laughing Swing Band

Admission $1.00 at Door

Tickets available at Joint Board Fur Dressers and Dyers, 245 7th Avenue, N. Y. C., CH 2-5450, and Workers Bookshop, 50 E. 13th St.

EXCLUSIVE

From the Soviet Union and England, from the fighting fronts and the occupied countries, come the exclusive dispatches which make readers of the Daily and Sunday Worker the best informed of people. Add to this the broadest labor coverage in America, plus an unexcelled Washington Bureau — and you have the indispensable newspaper.

DAILY & SUNDAY WORKER

50 EAST 13 STREET, NEW YORK CITY

5c *At Your Newsstand* 5c

Special Introductory Offer: Sunday Worker, 6 months, one dollar (except Manhattan and Bronx)

she can. More successful—as Nazi officers—are John Wengraf and Tonio Selwart. Evelyn Varden provides a neat bit of humorous characterization and Leona Roberts and Nell Harrison are convincing American schoolteachers living in the "glamorous" period of Louis XVI. Alfred Lunt's direction shows every evidence of being influenced by the prominent actor's awe in the presence of what he considers a deep and magnificent job of play writing. Had he been less in awe, he could have tightened and paced the play somewhat more than he did. But he could not have made a better play of it.

ALVAH BESSIE.

PROGRESSIVE'S ALMANAC

WITH this issue NEW MASSES inaugurates "Progressive's Almanac," a calendar of meetings, dances, luncheons, and cultural activities within the progressive movement. This list is published in connection with NEW MASSES' Clearing Bureau, created for the purpose of avoiding conflicting dates for various affairs. Fraternal organizations, trade unions, political bodies, etc., are urged to notify NEW MASSES Clearing Bureau of events which they have scheduled. Service of the Clearing Bureau is free. A fee of one dollar per listing will be charged for all affairs listed in this column.

NOVEMBER

1—Fur Dressers and Dyers' Annual Ball, Royal Windsor. . . . Amer. Council on Soviet Relations, luncheon. "Answer to Appeal of Soviet Women to Women of America," Commodore Hotel.

2—Communist Party, N. Y. State, Final Election Rally, Madison Square Garden.

8—Book and Magazine Guild, Annual Book Ball, Aldine Club. . . . American Friends of the Chinese People, Benefit Theater Night, Town Hall.

12—New Theater of Manhattan, Opening Night, *Showdown,* place to be announced.

20—(Thanksgiving Night) United American Artists, Camouflage Ball, Manhattan Center.

22—New Theater League, Testimonial to Earl Robinson, place to be announced.

DECEMBER

1—Jewish Survey, Assembly for Justice to Nat'l Minorities, place to be announced.

6—NEW MASSES, 30th Annual Artists and Writers Ball, Webster Hall.

13—New Theater League, Anna Sokolow Dance Recital, place to be announced.

17—Amer.-Russian Institute, meeting Medical Aid to USSR, Madison Square Garden.

24—(Christmas Eve) NEW MASSES, Cross-section of American Folk Culture, Carnegie Hall. . . . Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade, Ball, Manhattan Center.

31—(New Year's Eve) Advertising Guild, Mad Arts Ball, Manhattan Center.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW MASSES Classified Ads

50c a line. Payable in Advance. Min. charge $1.50
Approx. 7 words to a line. Deadline Fri. 4 p.m.

APARTMENTS—ROOMS

BEAUTIFUL ROOM, telephone. Reasonable. Near 7th Ave. subway. Call after 6 P.M. daily and all day Sat. and Sun. 603 West 140 Street, Apt. 65.

FURS

SKILLED FUR CRAFTSMAN with factory in wholesale district can give you 35% below retail rates on remodeling, repairing and custom made coats. Cleaning and Glazing also done at moderate rates. ASK FOR MR. ARMAND, 145 W. 30 St., N. Y. C. ARMAND ET SOEUR. CHi 4-1424.

INSTRUCTION

ALL BALLROOM DANCES. Individual Class, MODERN BALLET, technique. Low Seasonal Rates. MORELLE, 108 4th Ave. (12 St.), ORchard 4-1903.

INSURANCE

PAUL CROSBIE and CARL BRODSKY — whatever your needs. — FREQUENT SAVINGS, 42 Broadway. TRADE UNION AGENCY. Tel. HAnover 2-3435.

LANGUAGES

LEARN YOUR RUSSIAN. One group is at it, enthusiastically. Forming now are these groups: (a) Beginners. (b) Erstwhile Amero-Muscovites. (c) Russians desiring to recapture their mother-tongue. Our teacher knows his borsch! Act quickly. LANGUAGE SERVICE CENTER, Lewis Bertrand, Director, 18 E. 41 St., N. Y. C.

LAUNDRY

FOUR STAR HAND LAUNDRY—excellent work—very reasonable—also FRENCH Dry Cleaning. Call & deliver. 404 E. 10 St. GR 3-1869.

OPTOMETRIST

EYES EXAMINED, glasses fitted. SCIENTIFIC APPROACH to problem cases. Reasonable fees. Morris Goldsmith, 515 Eastern Parkway (Nostrand Ave.). 10 A.M. to 8 P.M. daily. PR 2-2772.

RESTAURANT

New York's Newest! RUSSIAN SKAZKA RESTAURANT. Dine by firelight to latest recorded Soviet and American music. Dinner 65c. After theatre snacks from 30c. 17 Barrow St. off Sheridan Sq. CH 2-9124.

WANTED

COUPLE looking for EMPLOYMENT in small CAMP. Man as cook, wife as assistant and hostess. Write New Masses, Box 1784.

WANTED TO RENT—Winter Bungalow. Must be near lake that freezes, 25-40 miles from City. Write NM, Box 1783.

WEARING APPAREL

SHOPPING AT MISS GOODMAN'S is a decided boon in this rising market. She sells only those better dresses & coats (original models) far below regular mark-up. 474—7th Ave. (36 St.) LA 4-4013.

GOINGS ON

MARXIST ANALYSIS OF THE WEEK'S NEWS by SENDER GARLIN, Daily Worker Columnist, Sun., Nov. 2, 8:30 P.M. Workers School, 50 E. 13 Street. Admission 25 cents.

FIFTH AVE. FORUM presents EUGENE P. CONNOLLY, "ELECTION ISSUES, 1941," Sun., Nov. 2, 8 P.M. 77 Fifth Av. Adm. 15c. Questions—Discussion.

One Year of NEW MASSES *plus a timely* BOOK

NEW MASSES regular yearly subscription rate is $5.00

	Our Gift Combination Price	You Save
THE COPPERHEADS * by William Blake list price $3.00	*$6.75*	$1.25
MEN OF EUROPE by Andre Simone list price $2.50	*6.25*	1.25
THE SILENT DON (Vols. I & II) by Mikhail Sholokhov list price $6.00	*8.50*	*2.50*
THIS IS MY OWN by Rockwell Kent list price $3.50	*6.75*	1.75
TWELVE MILLION BLACK VOICES* by Richard Wright list price $3.00	*6.75*	1.25
WHAT MAKES SAMMY RUN by Budd Schulberg list price $2.50	*6.25*	1.25

* Just published

FILL OUT THIS ORDER NOW:

NEW MASSES, 461 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I wish to take advantage of your combination offer.

Enclosed find $ . . . . . .

The book I desire is . . . . . .

Please send it to:

Name . . . . . .

Address . . . . . .

City . . . . . .

State . . . . . .

The one-year subscription (or renewal) to NEW MASSES you may send to:

Name . . . . . .

Address . . . . . .

City . . . . . .

State . . . . . .

11-4-41

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

USA ★ USSR

OUR KINSHIP IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST HITLER

next week's issue devoted to the

24TH BIRTHDAY OF THE SOVIET UNION

This year, the anniversary has a different, more compelling, historic meaning than any of the years before. The incomparable warriors defending the gates of Leningrad, Moscow, the Caucasus are fighting the battle which is theirs and ours, a battle on which the freedom and independence of the whole world depends. Of what stuff are these people made? How do America's security and America's ideals mesh with theirs? What are we doing to help them and ourselves?

New Masses Brings the Answers in Next Week's Issue.

Articles by Dr. Harry F. Ward, A. B. Magil, Robert Minor, Samuel Sillen and Corliss Lamont.

Statements from former ambassador to the Soviet Union Joseph E. Davies, Lt. Commander Robert Seeley, Lion Feuchtwanger, Pierre Cot, Juan Marinello and many other public figures throughout the anti-fascist world.

Cartoons, maps, graphs, special cables from the USSR and Britain plus the new Soviet song: "One For All, All For One" to be published for the first time in this country.

Get Next Week's issue on your newsstand. Get Your Friends to Get It.

NEW MASSES, 461 Fourth Avenue, New York City

Remittance is enclosed for subscription to the weekly NEW MASSES for

☐ One year at $5.00
☐ 13 Weeks at $1.00
Introductory offer

Name.....

Street.....City & State.....

11-4-41

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED